ROTUNDA

SUMMER 1977 VOLUME 10 NUMBER 2 $1.50

The ROM on the Eve of Expansion

Exotic Art in a Rebel Fortress

Manchu Court Costume

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ROTUNDA

the magazine of The Royal Ontario Museum

Volume 10, Number 2, Summer 1977

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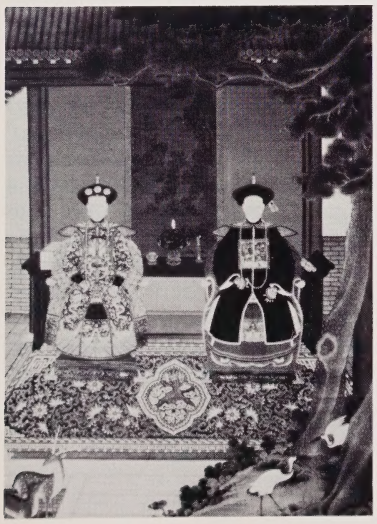

Portrait of a couple in official winter Manchu costume with three-clawed dragon embroidery. Eighteenth century. See page 40.

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Published quarterly by the Royal Ontario Museum, 100 Queen's Park, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2C6.
Subscription $5.00 a year. Single copies $1.50 each.

ISSN 0035-8495
Second class mail registration number 1531

Two Gentlewomen of Upper Canada

Mary Allodi

"Early Wild Rose and Penstemon Beard Tongue." Drawn from nature, lithographed and hand coloured by Agnes FitzGibbon to illustrate C.P. Traill's book Canadian Wild Flowers, *published in 1868. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. C.S. Martin.*

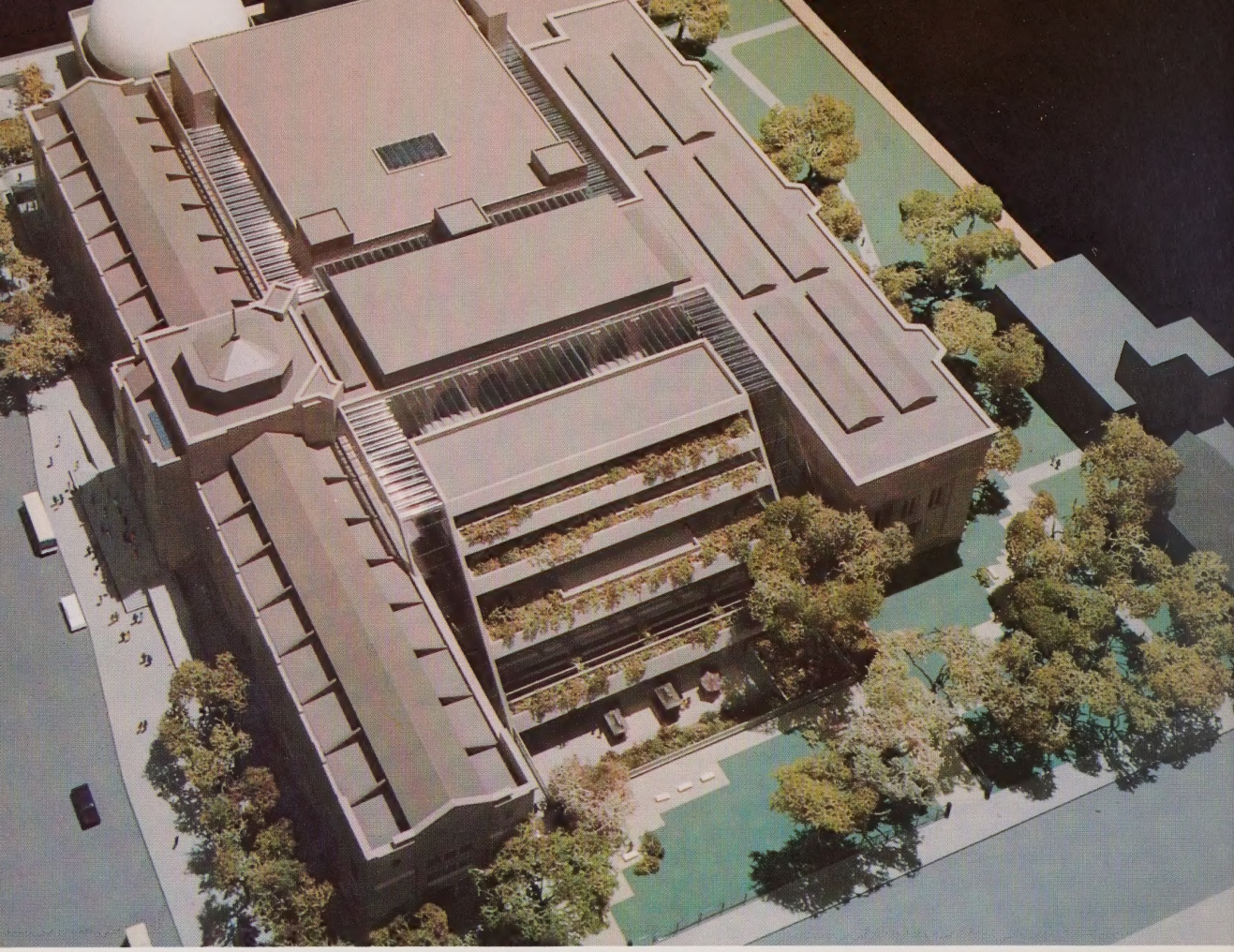
From June 16 until September 11, the paintings and sketches of two extraordinary 19th-century artists will be on display at the Sigmund Samuel Canadiana Building. Agnes FitzGibbon Chamberlin, born near Cobourg in 1833, was the eldest daughter of the well-known literary settlers, Colonel J. W. Dunbar Moodie and Susanna Strickland Moodie. Anne Langton emigrated from England to her brother's homestead farm near Fenelon Falls in 1836, just three years after he had made the first clearing. Both women were heirs to artistic talents and a taste for adventure. Throughout their lives they practised the extremely varied roles of housekeepers and educators of young children, bakers and dairymaids, upholsterers and seamstresses, as well as hostesses and writers. In spite of these demanding routines, they also found time and inspiration to paint accomplished and accurate records of life in pioneer Ontario. Their paintings and sketches were preserved by descendants, who later gave them to Canadian institutions. Agnes FitzGibbon Chamberlin's natural history studies are on loan from the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto. Anne Langton's sketches of early settlements are from the collection of the Fenelon Falls Public Library.

Anne Langton (c. 1804–1893) was born into a prosperous Lancashire family, and received her early artistic training during their visits to the Continent. She began painting miniature portraits and copies of famous paintings during a winter spent in Rome. When the whole family emigrated to Canda after a commercial crisis had reduced their fortunes, Anne spent many hours sketching their new surroundings and often sent these views to relatives in England. The letters and journals of both Anne and her brother John contained vivid descriptions of their pioneer days at Blythe, their homestead on Sturgeon Lake, and were later published by descendants as *Early Days in Upper Canada* and *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada*. They lived on the farm until 1855, when John's posting as auditor general of public accounts caused them to move to Toronto. From 1859 to 1864 they were in Quebec, and from 1866 to 1870 in Ottawa, returning to Toronto after that date. Anne made her life with John's family, and recorded their changing surroundings in hundreds of delicate sketches which form an invaluable visual account of early days on the homestead as well as city life in the 1860s and 70s. When age prevented her from sketching out-of-doors, she took up china painting.

Agnes FitzGibbon Chamberlin (1833–1910) lived on a farm until the age of six; the family moved to Belleville when Colonel Moodie was appointed sheriff of Hastings County. In 1850, at the age of seventeen, she married Toronto lawyer Charles FitzGibbon and spent the following years caring for a growing family. She was widowed in 1865, and in 1870 married Brown Chamberlin, M.P., of Ottawa. Her artistic career began in 1863 when her aunt, Catherine Parr Traill, showed her a manuscript on Canadian flora which had been rejected by publishers because it lacked illustrations. She began to paint botanical studies, choosing to sketch from nature on the Humber plains and in the woods near her home on the Dundas Road. Having executed ten groups of flowers to illustrate her aunt's work, as well as securing 500 subscribers for the publication, she found that no lithographer in Toronto was willing to print the plates. According to her own account, she borrowed lithographic stone from John Ellis, an early Toronto printer, and with his encouragement made the drawings on the stone. These were printed for her by Chewett & Co. of Toronto and with the help of three young friends she hand-coloured each of the 5,000 lithographs. In 1868 her perseverance was rewarded when *Canadian Wild Flowers* was finally published by John Lovell of Montreal. In the preface Mrs. Traill noted, "With a patriotic pride in her native land, Mrs. FitzGibbon was desirous that the book should be entirely of Canadian production, without any foreign aid, and thus far her design has been carried out; . . . a gigantic effort to be executed by one person." It was the first book of its kind to be printed and published entirely in Canada. Agnes later drew illustrations for Mrs. Traill's complete manuscript, which was published in 1885 as *Studies of Plant Life in Canada*. Both books went through several editions, and have become collectors' items themselves. Although Agnes FitzGibbon Chamberlin exhibited at major centres during her lifetime, her accurate and beautiful flower studies have received little attention since her death. In 1934 her descendants presented over 300 of her watercolour paintings to the University of Toronto, of which about sixty will be seen in this exhibition.

Mary Allodi is Assistant Curator of the Canadiana Department and the author of Canadian Watercolours and Drawings in the Royal Ontario Museum.

"A Backwood's Man." Pencil and watercolour by Anne Langton. Collection of the Public Library, Fenelon Falls, Ontario.



Even ROM Wasn't Built in a Day

Retrospect and Prospect at the Royal Ontario Museum on the Eve of Expansion

James E. Cruise

The Royal Ontario Museum is both Canada's largest public museum and a major research institution. Its beginnings can be traced back to 1833 when Charles Fothergill, a member of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, sought the establishment of a "Lyceum of Natural History and Fine Arts in the City of York". However, it was not until 1851, after Fothergill's death, that a provincial museum was established in the Normal and Model Schools (now the site of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute).

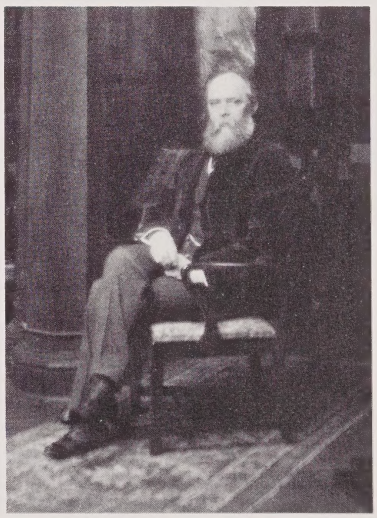
It was due to the efforts of Sir Edmund Walker and others that, on April 16, 1912, the Legislative Assembly of Ontario passed the Act which created the Royal Ontario Museum. The institution was then

Left and below: This model shows how the ROM will expand on its present site, adding a new Curatorial Centre in the south courtyard and three levels of glass-walled Terrace Galleries in the north courtyard. A skylit, transparent atrium will join the new additions to the existing building, and the Chinese tombs will be moved to a sunken garden in front of the Terrace Galleries. (Photos: Panda Associates)

composed of five separate museums, devoted severally to Archaeology, Geology, Mineralogy, Palaeontology, and Zoology, each with its own director, administration, and budget. This complex opened its doors to the public in 1914 in the building which forms the west wing of today's Museum.

No history of the Museum would be complete without a mention of the first director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Charles Trick Currelly. A graduate of Victoria College, Currelly embarked on a trip to Europe in 1902 with a collection of Roman coins that had been given to him, and an introduction to a member of the staff of the British Museum, where he was taken on as an assistant archaeologist. Through his field work with the British Museum, he managed to make purchases which were later sent to Victoria College.

In 1905 Currelly returned to Toronto for a visit and for the purpose of persuading scholars and politicians that the museum they were then planning ought to belong to the University. This proposal received official sanction and Currelly was appointed to collect artifacts for the projected museum, receiving certain funds for purchases, but no salary or expenses. Thus began his lifetime devotion to the establishment of an institution that was to become one of the great museums of the world. Currelly can be credited with some of the outstanding collections in the Museum, especially in the Art and Archaeology departments.



Sir Edmund Walker, founder and first chairman of the board of the Museum.

The original wing of the Museum, as it looked from Bloor Street.

The University of Toronto played a very important role in the life of the composite Museum during those early years. It shared operating costs with the government, turned over several of its teaching collections, and from its faculty provided many of the senior staff.

Thanks to the persistent endeavours of the directors of the new museums, the collections grew rapidly. In the late 1920s major portions of the collections of the first Provincial Museum were moved to the already crowded Royal Ontario Museum. On October 12, 1933, an imposing new wing facing on Avenue Road was officially opened. Concurrently with the enlargement of the physical facilities, important Indian collections were transferred to the Ethnology Department of the Museum.

In 1947 the Museum Act was amended to make the Royal Ontario Museum an integral part of the University of Toronto. This relationship continued until 1968, when the Museum separated from the University and was established as a separate corporation under the aegis of the Department of University Affairs. Though the administrative tie with the University was broken, the academic tie has remained strong to this day.

Between the years 1945 and 1951 the number of museums was reduced through a process of amalgamation to three. The new museums were those of Geology & Mineralogy, Zoology & Palaeontology, and Archaeology. Finally in 1955 one museum emerged with a single director and a centralized administration. The previously confederated museums became components, and were renamed the divisions of Art & Archaeology, Earth Sciences, and Life Sciences. The Division of Education remained as a separate unit.

The Museum's role has always been one of service to the community, and formal education has figured prominently in the fulfilment of that role. Certain undergraduate and graduate teaching at the University of Toronto can be done best in the collections-oriented atmosphere of the Museum. Increasingly over the years, secondary and elementary school teachers have come to depend upon a visit to the Museum's rich collections as a substitute for an extensive field trip. The community served by the Museum is local, provincial, national, and international, and the general public and scholars alike look to the Museum for edification and enjoyment.

The years 1955–62 saw the Museum roused to a state of heightened activity. When the Ming Tomb was removed to the garden, its former gallery was converted to house special exhibitions. These were so well received that the tempo of this activity was accelerated and the exhibitions found eager and enthusiastic audiences. The major exhibitions during this period were "Seven Centuries of English Domestic Silver"; "Masks — The Many Faces of Man"; and "Impact — Poster Art of the World". There was also some significant renovation of public galleries during this period, although the extent of the public galleries was continuously diminishing as a result of encroachment upon them for accommodation for staff and reference collections. This encroachment was to continue until by 1975 the public had been deprived of some thirty per cent of what had been gallery space in

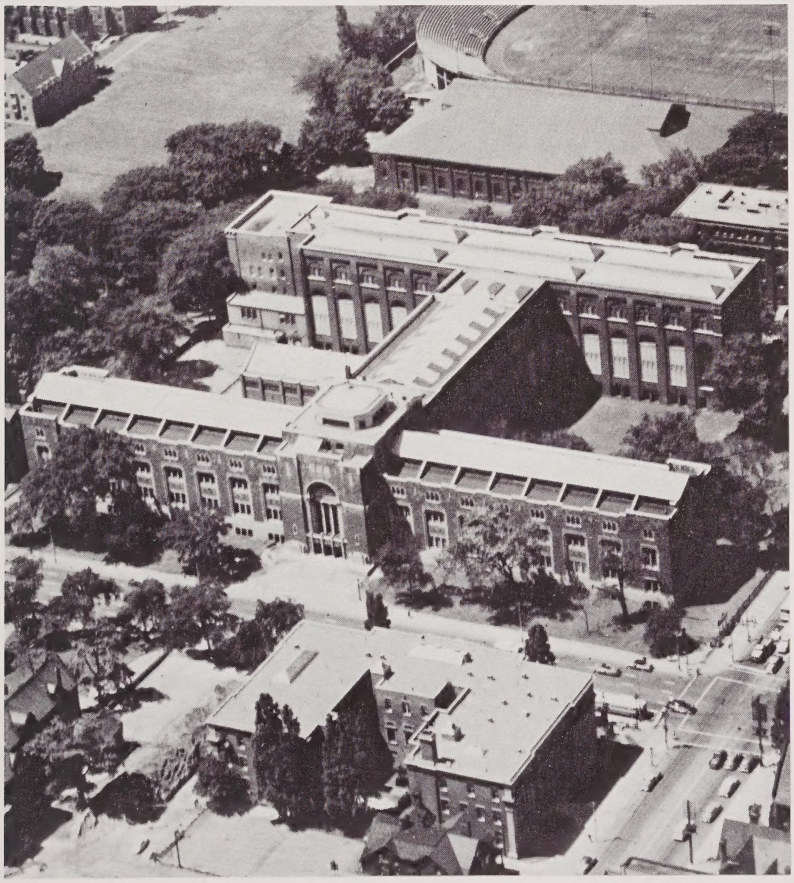
1932. What had originally been more than four acres of gallery space had been reduced by 1975 to somewhat less than three acres.

The Sigmund Samuel Canadiana Building, constructed in 1951, provided the first addition to the Museum's public gallery areas since the opening of the 1932 wing of the main building. It was enlarged in 1958 by the construction of a south wing which provided additional accommodation for public galleries, research, and reference collection storage.

A membership drive was successfully launched during the early 1960s, a Members' Committee was formed, and new services were initiated. Everything grew, and it was good! The government increased its grant for the purchase of objects; private gifts multiplied; school classes came in ever larger numbers. General attendance grew, and with it came a steady growth in public programmes and staff. A subway was under construction which would bring ever-increasing numbers to the already overcrowded facilities. The need for expansion was widely recognized. It was hoped that a new wing would allow for increased gallery space, enlarged shops, better office facilities, a new restaurant, a children's museum, more laboratory space, study rooms, enlarged and modernized library facilities, a planetarium, and improved parking. Some excellent planning was done at this time, but the funding for a major capital expansion was not available.

The Royal Ontario Museum celebrated its Golden Jubilee in April 1962 with a special exhibition entitled "Search and Research". This marked the initiation of a period of unparalleled growth and development for the science departments. Through generous gifts from private individuals and corporations new dioramas and new galleries were made possible. New techniques in casting were developed, and artistic talents formerly demonstrated largely in publications were now given full rein in public gallery areas. It was during this period that the creative talents of certain of our Museum staff members became internationally recognized. Scientific expeditions were extended throughout Canada and the United States; scholarly publications increased at a great rate; travel abroad was encouraged to enable staff to evaluate better their holdings and update their teaching collections. Extension courses, film programmes, and special lecture series drew greatly increased attendance.

In the period 1962–1966 two



Above: The main rotunda with its renowned mosaic work.

Left: A view of the modern building, before the Planetarium was added.

Above: The Planetarium, opened in 1968.

Opposite page: Museumbobiles extend the work of the ROM throughout the province.

very important and generous gifts were made to the Museum. One consisted of the cryptogamic and phanerogamic herbaria of the University Department of Botany, whose chairman was Professor N.P. Badenhuizen. These are the most significant university collections of their type in Canada, but because of the absence of suitable space in the Museum, their transfer has not yet been possible. The second major gift was from the late Colonel R. Samuel McLaughlin, who built and endowed the Planetarium which bears his name. The Planetarium was opened to the public in November of 1968. It was Colonel McLaughlin's wish not only that the Planetarium should be the best of its kind in existence, but that endowment funds should make it possible for the Museum continuously to update technical equipment and techniques in order that the Planetarium might maintain indefinitely its position of pre-eminence.

Great and radical changes came about during the period from 1966 to 1972. The Museum became independent of the University of Toronto, and acquired its own Board of Trustees. It then entered the most publicized period of its existence. One seldom lifted a newspaper, watched T.V., or listened to the radio without seeing or hearing something pertaining to the Royal Ontario Museum. The public was made aware not only of the Museum's collections and services, but also of its needs, financial and physical. Despite the great changes taking place in society the Royal Ontario Museum gained new popularity and came to be affectionately referred to as "the ROM".

During this period the outside appearance of the Museum was en-

hanced by cleaning, lighting, and landscaping. New restaurants and a Members' Lounge were provided inside. Galleries were created and displays updated. Financial support from the public and private sectors was sought and received. The first ROM Museumobile was put into use, and the service that was to extend the Museum's influence into the outlying areas of the province was inaugurated by the premier of Ontario, the Honourable William G. Davis.

Really tangible evidence of the government's intention to make possible a significant expansion of the ROM came with the provision of a special grant for the initiation of a study of some type of phased development. In 1970 the sum of $12.75 million dollars was allocated for the capital expansion of the Museum, the money to be made available over a ten-year period. The Board of Trustees and the staff were now able to direct their energies towards the planning of the best possible "new Royal Ontario Museum".

The Museum celebrated its Diamond Jubilee in 1972, with the glittering prospect that its long-cherished dream was at last to become a reality. The following three years saw major changes in the Museum Act and the ROM came to report through the newly created Ministry of Culture & Recreation, rather than through that of Colleges and Universities. There was greater interaction between the Board and staff than had ever been experienced in the Museum's history. The outstanding exhibition of the century "The Exhibition of Archaeological Finds of the People's Republic of China" made its North American debut at the Royal Ontario Museum in 1974 and was an outstanding success in every way.

Early in 1975 the Board reached the decision that the Museum would not be decentralized, but rather that every effort would be made to plan facilities adequate through the year 2000 at the familiar Bloor Street and Avenue Road location. The ROM is almost unique amongst the large museums of the world in that the sciences and art and archaeology departments are still integrated and retained beneath one roof. It is planned that much more emphasis will emerge in future galleries on an interdisciplinary and interdepartmental approach, in order to capitalize more effectively upon the ROM's broad spectrum of curatorial expertise.

The kind of decentralization that is really needed is the making available the resources of the ROM to those citizens of Ontario who cannot conveniently come to Toronto. The Museum intends to make its presence felt much more widely throughout Ontario, by such means as travelling exhibits, film and television, Museumobiles, long-term loans and displays, visiting lecturers, and the provision of technical expertise, advice, consultation, and training.

Rather than establish branch or satellite museums in other communities, the ROM will encourage and assist the development of local and regional museums that will reflect the needs and heritage of the local communities. The ROM will, within the limits of its resources, provide advice, skills, training, and exhibits as requested, in order to assist in the establishment or development of these local museums. It will cooperate closely with government and with other cultural institutions to ensure that its outreach

Right: The generosity of donors is essential to help build the ROM's outstanding collections. Here, Dr. Helmuth Fuchs, curator of the Ethnology Department, and Robin Etherington, an Ontario Careers Action Program trainee, examine a priceless collection of Maya artifacts donated by Jaroslaw Petryshyn.

Below: The new Terrace Galleries, facing Bloor Street, will adjoin a public park, and will provide an inviting prospect for passers-by. (Photo: Panda Associates)

programmes and its assistance to local and regional museums are as effective as possible and avoid duplication. In this connection, the Museum applied for, and in December of 1976 received, Associate Membership of the National Museums Corporation. It is expected that this new association will make possible wider national and international circulation of ROM exhibits and exhibitions, and will also give the ROM a clearer voice in the development of a national museums policy for Canada.

In February of 1977 the Museum's Board of Trustees agreed unanimously to proceed with a major programme of expansion and renovation for the Museum. Exhibition Hall is to be razed to make room for a substantial new curatorial building in the south courtyard. This new structure will be sepa-

rated from the existing building by a 20-foot-wide glass-enclosed atrium space, which will allow diffuse natural light to reach staff offices and galleries. As staff offices and the reference collections are moved into the new curatorial wing, it will be possible to return 1912 and 1932 galleries to their original use. Galleries are now being analyzed for their "communication effectiveness", and as entire wings are made available again for public use, the tremendous task of designing and producing new exhibits will assume a high priority.

An intensive programme of detailed planning is now drawing to a close. More than 500 separate spaces have been designed for the specific activities and functions of this complex institution. The Final Planning Report will be complete by the end of the summer of 1977, and it is expected that actual construction can begin in the south courtyard in February or March of 1978.

New construction in the north courtyard will bring the expansion of the Museum to completion. The plans call for construction on what is now the Chinese Garden, while the lawn immediately to the north will be converted into a small public park on Bloor Street. The three main floors of the new construction will house public galleries, and the fourth will be occupied by the administrative offices. A sunken garden just below the outer edge of the new main-floor gallery will accommodate the Ming Tomb and associated Chinese garden elements, and at the same time will permit the passage of natural light to the first activity level below grade.

The Museum has always been sadly inadequate in its provision of basic public amenities. It is planned that the new ROM will be far better able to serve its public. An entrance for organized groups will open from the Planetarium plaza; inside, students will find lockers, coatrooms, washrooms, a book and gift shop, and a cafeteria, all designed with their particular requirements in mind. Special attention will be paid to the needs of handicapped visitors, and ramps and elevators will be planned to assist in their movement. An orientation gallery will make it possible for visitors to learn easily what kinds of galleries the Museum has, what kinds of artifacts and specimens are on display, and how best to approach an exhibit in order to get the greatest possible pleasure and profit from it while avoiding museum fatigue. It is expected that many of the new exhibits and galleries will be interdisciplinary in nature. The elimination of unwarranted departmental territorialism in the galleries will lead to important enrichments of displays. Wherever possible appeals will be made to senses other than just the visual one, so that a gallery visitor may become more deeply involved in the environment that has been created for his edification and enjoyment. In this area we hope to benefit by the experience of other institutions that have experimented lately with "discovery rooms" where visitors can have actual hands-on tactile experiences with museum artifacts and specimens.

The Royal Ontario Museum in the 1970s is a Canadian national treasure and resource without equal. The enlargement and renovation programme now being initiated will provide a physical facility for the Museum adequate into the 21st century. The completion of this large undertaking will require the patience and hard work of the staff, the forbearance and encouragement of our visitors, the confidence and commitment of our municipal, provincial, and federal governments, and the loyalty and fund-raising expertise of our members, volunteers, trustees, and friends, both private and corporate.

The ROM is a place for people; it belongs to the citizens of Ontario, and indeed to all Canadians. It is a place where learning can be fun. It is an internationally respected research institute, where solid scholarship abounds. The ROM is the Royal Ontario Museum, now about to undergo a renaissance. We're getting bigger and better.

Al Gilbert

Dr. James E. Cruise was born and received his early education in Port Dover, Ontario. Today he continues to commune with nature on weekends at the family farm there. After service in the Royal Canadian Air Force (1943-46) he returned to academia to earn his degrees in botany and to design and teach courses in that field in the United States and Canada. He joined the Royal Ontario Museum as Director in July, 1975, coming from the University of Toronto where his administrative talents were honed as Associate Dean, Faculty of Arts and Science. He maintains a strong link with the Botany Department of the University of Toronto by supervising three graduate students and by continuing with his scholarly writing, and has a long list of publications to his credit.

Exotic Art in a Rebel Fortress

A Parthian Mountain Stronghold in Iran

E. J. Keall

Two ROM archaeological expeditions to Iran in successive years have uncovered what promises to be one of the most exciting treasure houses of architectural ornament ever found in this part of the world. The ruins of this lavishly decorated building, dating to approximately 1,800 years ago, stand within the walls of a large enclosure which was probably once an area of watered garden and fruit trees. This "paradise" — to use the original pure Persian sense of the word as a gardened enclosure — was set in the heart of a large mountainous tract which someone in antiquity, as yet unidentified, had decided should be turned into an impregnable stronghold and retreat. One of the greatest attractions of the site is not only its rich collection of ornament, but also the possibility that we may one day be able to piece together a picture of how the stronghold actually functioned. It is intriguing to find this wild assortment of carved and painted stucco decorations adorning the walls of a palatial pavilion set in a garden of paradise and surrounded by military fortifications of staggering proportions. The considerable extent of the surviving remains promises to permit us to deduce a great deal more about the reasons for these features, as well as something about the pattern of daily life in the settlement, and the greater role played by its inhabitants in the history of late Parthia (first two centuries A.D.).

Above: A worker cleans a decorated wall face of the pavilion in the garden of paradise.

Left: The defensive Long Wall as seen from the Upper Castle.

Opposite page: A nude female figure leaning on a pedestal, from a column of dancers in the stuccoed pavilion.

A site map of Qal'eh-i Yazdigird. 1, defensive Long Wall; 2, Upper Castle; 3, inner stronghold; 4, garden of paradise with stuccoed pavilion. Drawing by Klaus Breede.

The ground that was chosen for the stronghold lies on the edge of the high Zagros range of mountains that forms the western extremity of the Iranian plateau, overlooking the Mesopotamian plains of Iraq. An elevated tract of land projects out from the main body of the mountains, with a sheer escarpment surrounding it along two-thirds of its perimeter, creating an isolated tableland or *mesa* which is attached to the main mountain range only by a narrow tract of land. It is a natural fastness even without the man-made defences. The top of the tableland is like a basin, and a perennial spring brings good water to the basin from the high ground. Extensive fortifications were erected across the open neck of land and around the rim of the basin, wherever it was thought the cliffs could be scaled, completing the circumvallation of an area of ten square miles. Lookout posts and an upper castle perched on the cliffs above the basin protected the water source and provided the garrison with a commanding view across miles of surrounding countryside. Nestled within the hollow of the sheltered basin are the inner fortress and the garden of paradise with its palatial stuccoed pavilion.

The site was first located in 1965, when an exploratory trench had revealed a portion of the stuccoed building. In 1975 the Expedition concentrated upon defining the precise dimensions and layout of the stronghold as a whole, exploring every corner of the site in order to come up with a reasonable estimate of the scope and amount of future work involved (see *Rotunda*, Winter 1975). It was also vital to try to extract as much information as possible about the nature of the settlement from indications left on the surface. After the initial small-scale operation in 1965, in the absence of hard facts, a Sasanian date for the site was arrived at largely through a process of elimination. Local historical legends associated with the site played a rather dominant role in this interpretation, much as legends of the Round Table continue to attach themselves to sites like King Arthur's Castle. According to very strongly entrenched local belief the stronghold was the retreat of King Yazdigird (thus giving us the name of Qal'eh-i Yazdigird, or Castle of Yazdigird). The last of the Sasanian Kings of Kings, he made an unsuccessful bid in this region to halt the inroads of the invading Moslem armies into the highlands of Iran during the early 7th century. Although the legendary association of the site with Yazdigird was taken in 1965 to be no more than a reflection of traditional folklore, a Sasanian date (perhaps of the 5th century) did seem an appropriate deduction. As it turns out, as more objects were uncovered, it has become clear that the Sasanian-looking material real-

ly belongs to the times of an earlier Persian dynasty (that of the Parthians), under which many of the artistic principles associated with the later Sasanians were actually formulated.

A Parthian date first began to be suspected in 1975 when a close inspection of the ground around the outlying reaches of the defences failed to produce any recognizable Sasanian potsherds or other artifacts. Sasanian material was encountered only in the centre of the site. It now appears that this debris comes from a village of Sasanian date which flourished in this area after the demise of the stronghold, much in the way that the modern village of Zardeh with its 700 inhabitants is the sole permanent settlement of the basin today. The important implication of these findings is that the stronghold was conceived in Parthian times, at least 300 years earlier than was previously suspected. The other valuable piece of information that emerged from the ground survey was the fact that the defences had clearly been manned in Parthian times. Rooms within the towers of the defensive walls revealed traces of occupation, and the remains of small compounds suggesting barracks-like occupation were uncovered on the inside of the wall. The simple but vital conclusion is that the defensive system actually functioned in the way it had been designed to. This may not seem at all remarkable until attention is drawn to the fact that, all too often in the past, grandiose plans of this sort were conceived but never brought to fruition. The history of ancient Near Eastern civilization is riddled with the construction of follies or elaborate schemes that were never completed because the money ran out or the sponsor died.

We had deduced a Parthian date for the defensive network, but at the beginning of the 1976 season we had yet to discover whether the palatial pavilion was contemporary with the military fortifications. This was of crucial importance, for until we knew whether these two very divergent facets of the site had existed at one and the same time we could draw no conclusions about the significance of a pleasurable life-style existing amidst such protected surroundings. Proof is still not conclusive, although there are no good arguments to the contrary. Ironically, one of the reasons why it is taking so long to find out is because so much of the stuccoed pavilion has survived. On average the walls are preserved from a depth of twelve feet below ground up to field level. Since the natural way to conduct an excavation is to start at the top and dig down, it means that we are entering the structure just below ceiling height. The walls have been preserved to this height by the protective blanket of the building's own collapsed ceiling debris. Progress through the debris is slow because it involves the careful extraction and preservation of many pieces of architectural ornament. Apart from two deep probes to determine the depth of the floor below ground, none of the floor area has yet been exposed. The best clue to the date of the building remains its partially exposed layout and the stucco decorations, which can be dated on stylistic grounds.

Above: Drawing of miniature head from engaged column capital. Drawing by Linda Ritchie.

Left: Engaged column capital with nude figure (Aprhrodite?) holding the tails of a pair of dolphins.

A distinctive feature of the building plan is the presence of broad corridors which surround large square or rectangular spaces. Such corridors are common in late Parthian monumental architecture and may partly be explained by the need to provide buttressing support for the vaulting systems which roofed the large halls. By transmitting the thrust of the vaults to the extra side walls, architects were able to span larger spaces than was previously possible. It was a primitive solution to the problem of a vaulting system, but one which occurred at a formative stage in the development of vaulted space. These corridors may also have encouraged the private nature of activities conducted within the encircled rooms. With few doorways opening off from the corridors, the plan creates a feeling of secrecy and intimacy.

The decoration on the walls of the three monumental rooms encountered so far are of a very repetitive nature, in the sense that patterns are repeated over and over again. One other characteristic, however, which must strike our subdued senses very strongly, is the seemingly confused jumble of discordant elements in all manner of designs and layouts. It is as though the architect had tried to fill the building with every device in his pattern-book. Since the stuccoes were once painted with bright colours, the effect must have been quite garish. It was evidently the architect's intention, probably in response to the sponsor's wishes, to convey a feeling of richness by the lavishness and exotic quality of the decorations.

The subject matter of the decorations ranges from human and animal figures to geometric and stylized floral designs. The geometric and floral designs are either linear bands of continuously linked motifs, in separate repeated panels, or overall patterns of interlocking designs. Many of these arrangements can be compared with those from Parthian sites in Iraq and eastern Iran. One of the most interesting of these is the design which includes a stepped crenellation (merlon) with arrow slot, together with flanking two-handled vases. The origin of this particular combination of elements is unknown, although the history of the merlon can be traced from Assyrian times centuries earlier. As early as the 7th century B.C. it occurs as a full-scale feature in military defensive works, such as the walls of Nineveh. The device later became translated into a decorative embellishment on the parapets of palaces of the Persian Achaemenid kings. The crenellation occurs, too, as an imperial symbol, apparently meant to represent the king's territorial possessions, in the same way that the city goddesses of Hellenistic times were depicted wearing merlon crowns. In Parthian architectural decoration the merlon appears to have had no significance except as an artistic device. One cannot assume that it had retained any of the imperial connotations of old. It is, however, an important example of the way in which decorative devices in the Near East enjoy a long and complicated history which makes specific interpretation for any given time difficult.

It is equally difficult to decide upon the real significance of the figural subjects. These range from nude heroes engaged in combat with beasts of prey to dancers fully clothed in colourful attire. They range in iconography from strictly western Classicising subjects, such as a possible Dionysus and Cupid composition, to formal presentations of a male bust which may even be taken to represent the owner of the mansion. The iconographical compositions of the animals, too, are taken from every part of the then known world. There are griffons in traditional poses marchant; heads and foreparts of griffons which are predecessors of the future Sasanian *senmurvs* (hybrid, mythical beasts comprising dog's head and peacock tail); intertwined dragons which may possibly be derived from Central Asian prototypes; and quite naturalistically represented animals of the hunt, such as lion and hyena.

It is difficult, given the infant state of our knowledge about Parthian art, to decide whether there is any meaning to the iconography of the decorations other than the richness which they are meant to re-

Left: Fragment of repetitive panel with vase and merlon motif.

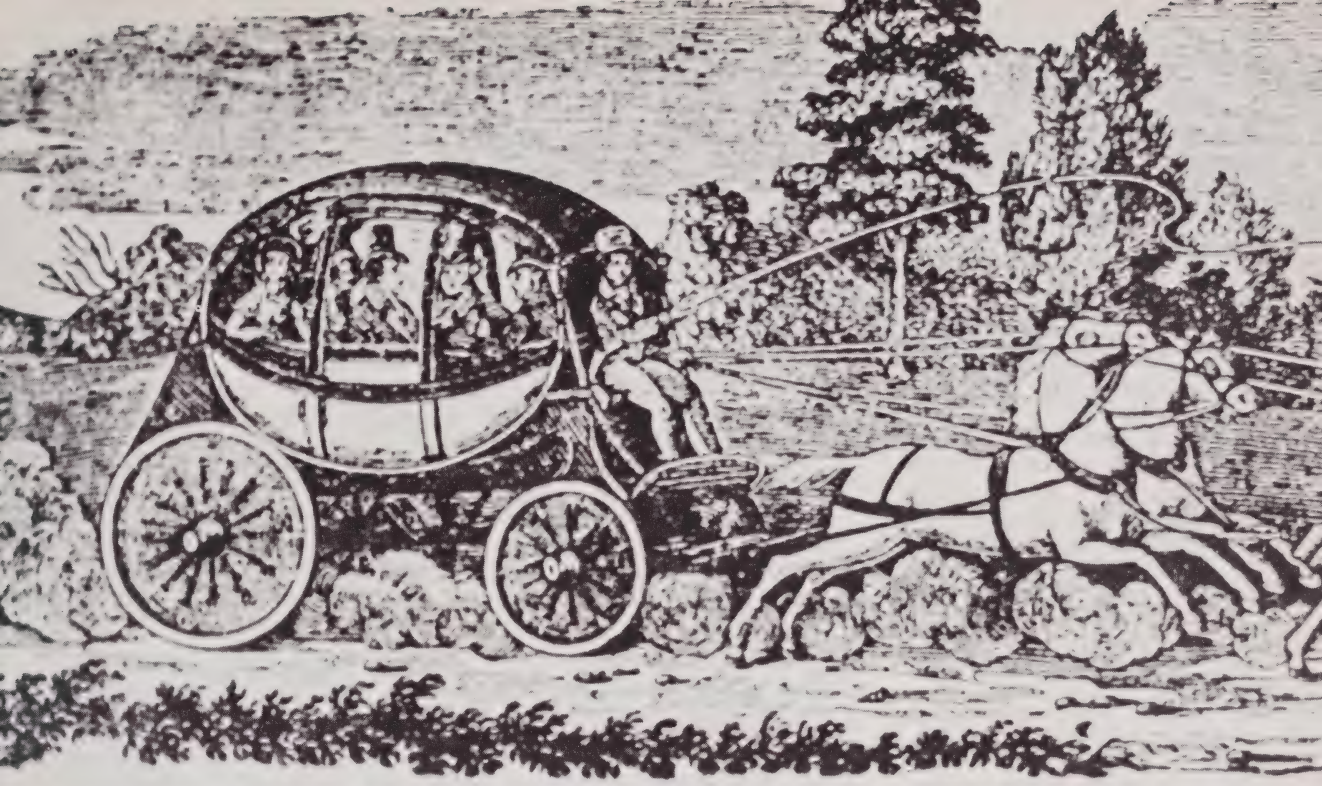
Opposite page: Drawing of engaged column capital with intertwined dragon beasts. Drawing by Linda Ritchie.

flect. For instance, from one room there are examples of decorated engaged-column capitals (architectonic features which have no practical function other than decoration). On one of these there is the intertwined dragon composition; on another, the scene of a nude female (possibly Aphrodite) holding the tails of a pair of dolphins. The latter is clearly a story whose origins lie outside of the realm of Persia. Narrative themes are not very common at all in Parthian art. But chances are that the various scenes displayed here are stereotyped references to well-known stories which need no further explanation to those who see the capsulated images, just as to a child today a ginger-bread house can conjure up the entire tale of Hansel and Gretel. Each of the images in the pavilion, then, can be assumed to have had some meaning to the observer, even though we cannot always be sure what that precise meaning was. One cannot fail to be struck, however, by the wide variety of subjects and styles, an interesting reflection of the eclecticism of Parthian art. Again, one cannot be sure that any of the images can be related to the sorts of activities that went on in the large halls. As suggested before, they may simply have been inspired by the desire to create an exotic setting of colour and shapes. This was done in the international vocabulary of artists, who were able to travel freely around in a world in which commerce flourished, and who were able to cater to whatever needs money could satisfy.

The Qal'eh-i Yazdigird stronghold exudes defensiveness from every segment of its perimeter fortifications. From its Upper Castle and flanking outposts the garrison could command a view across miles of terrain, able to spot in daylight an approaching force at a day's march away. Mobile troops — synonymous with Parthian warfare — could be summoned quickly to any part of the defences to counter the attack of any force, whose first major challenge, even before reaching the defending forces, was to scale the formidable cliffs. One need not go far in this part of the world to find a feasible explanation for this aggressive defence. One of the major highways of antiquity ran just a few miles distant and is visible from the lookout posts. The route is still one of the few logical ways to approach the highlands of Iran from the plains below. The strategic importance of the pass, which forces traffic to climb onto the plateau at this point, earned it in antiquity the name of Zagros Gates, or gateway to Iran. The richness of the cargoes that were transported along the route in mediaeval times led it to be called the Silk Road. In the 2nd century A.D. when the stronghold seems to have been built, there was no exception to this pattern of international traffic. It could be argued that the fortress must have been built to protect the caravans climbing the pass from interference by unruly tribes in the interior, and thus to preserve the sources of revenue for the imperial Parthian government seated in Ctesiphon in Iraq. But there are several considerations that make this theory unlikely. Apart from the fact that the stronghold is set just a little back from the highroad and appears to threaten it rather than protect it, the Parthian government was so politically weak at this time it is doubtful that it had the resources to set up a whole network of defences designed to protect the caravan traffic.

The strongest objection to the theory of an imperial outpost is the lavish nature of the stuccoed pavilion. Even if one could justify the idea of the presence of a military governor, sent out there by the Parthian King of Kings, the richness of the building could only be taken as evidence of gross misappropriation of military funds. On the contrary, rebelliousness and dissension were so much a part of late Parthian history that one need have no qualms about fabricating the legend of a dissident noble or robber baron, extorting taxes from the great Asian highway, and thumbing his nose at the imperial administration on the plains below.

Edward J. Keall is Assistant Curator in the West Asian Department of the ROM. Born in England, he was educated at Sheffield University and the University of Michigan. From 1962 to 1967 he participated in various archaeological digs in the Middle East, and from 1962 to 1965 he was a fellow of the British Institute of Persian Studies in Tehran. He joined the ROM in 1971 and is also on the faculty of the University of Toronto's Department of Islamic Studies. His interests focus on Iran, from the time of Alexander the Great to Genghis Khan. He is the director of the ROM expeditions to Qal'eh-i Yazdigird, the third of which is scheduled for 1978.



Paid to the Lines

A Story of Mail Routes and Rates

Fred Stulberg

Today, if a letter is mailed from Canada to the United States and the proper postage has been affixed, there is reasonable assurance that it will reach its destination. This will happen despite the fact that the Canada Post Office will receive all the money and the United States Post Office will do most of the work. However, this magnanimous gesture of generosity was not always a matter of course. In fact, for close to three-quarters of a century, mail between the United States and Canada, in either direction, was assessed the postage of both countries.

Our story actually begins before there were a Canada and a United States. In 1763, when the Treaty of Paris officially made Canada a British possession, Benjamin Franklin, then Deputy Postmaster General of British America, left Philadelphia for Quebec to unite communications between the colonies of the north and the south. He set up a postal route between Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal and appointed Hugh Finlay, an immigrant Scot, postmaster of Quebec, making him responsible for the new postal system. Mail reached New York from Lower Canada via Lake Champlain and the Hudson River. In summer, a one-way trip by courier took nine or ten days.

The importance of this postal route was not to accommodate the communications of commerce between the colonies but rather to provide a convenient port for forwarding mail to Great Britain. Halifax, the only other ocean port worth considering, was not as accessible to the post offices of Lower Canada, especially in the winter when the St. Lawrence River was closed to navigation.

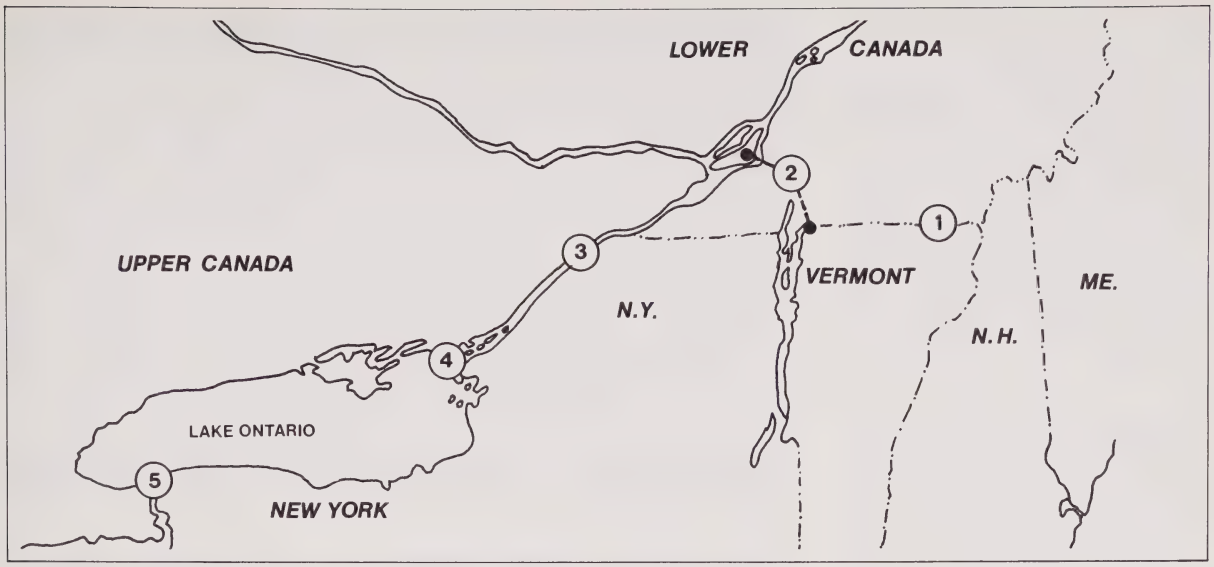
Above: The mail coach used on the first postal route between Canada and the United States ran between Montreal and St. Albans, Vermont.

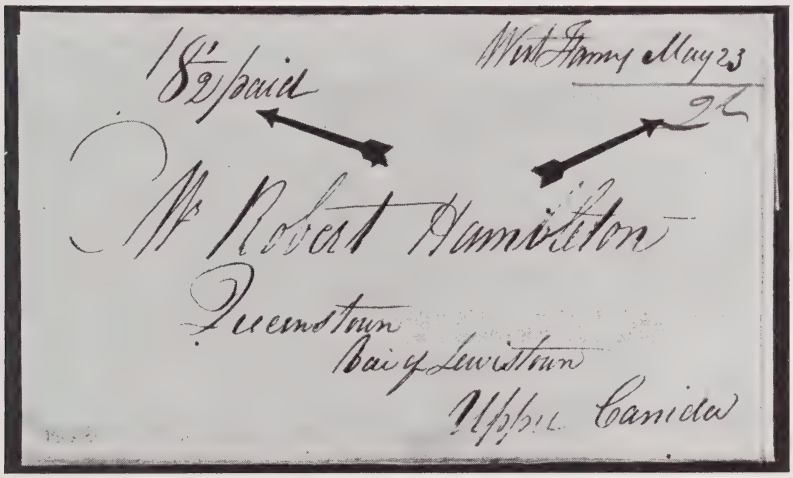
The American Revolution (1775–1781) put a stop to mail between Montreal and New York, which by that time had become a twice-weekly service. However, the cessation of hostilities saw not only the creation of a new country – the United States of America – but also an increased demand for postal service between it and Canada. The United Empire Loyalists who had fled to Canada needed the mails to establish contact with those who remained behind, as well as with family and friends overseas. Thus it was not long before the Montreal–Albany–New York route was reopened, this time with connections into Upper Canada. During the American Revolution the postal route from Quebec to Halifax had also been greatly improved, and it remained the one of choice for overseas mail well past the turn of the century. This was the direct result of high rates levied by the United States on mail passing through New York to or from Canada. Thus, the "American route" was used mainly in the winter months when navigation on the St. Lawrence River ceased.

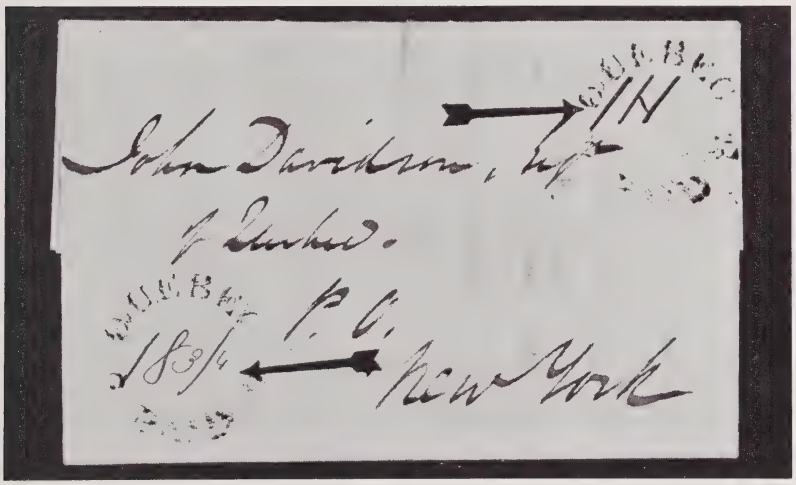
By 1792 the routes were well established, but the rates were another matter. There was no agreement between Canada and the United States regarding the required postage, and who would be responsible for its accounting. Each country tried to make sure that it received its own postage according to the applicable rates of the time. The transfer of mail from one country to the other was effected through private agreements between postmasters in offices on either side of the border, who would often arbitrarily set a border transfer fee and would pocket the money. However, in 1792 the two countries decided to put an end to some of the confusion that existed and drew up the first formal agreement for mail between them.

This agreement established the practice whereby the United States Post Office would act as an intermediary for mail between Canada and Great Britain. At first, this mail service was performed from the first of November to the end of February only. The postage of one country covered the fee to that country's

Benjamin Franklin, "Father of the Canadian Post Office" and Deputy Postmaster General of the British Colonies in North America, 1753 to 1774.







Top: Border transfer offices as of 1829. 1, Stanstead, Lower Canada and Derby Line, Vermont. 2, Montreal, L.C. and Highgate (and Burlington), Vermont. 3, Prescott, Upper Canada and Ogdensburg, New York. 4, Kingston, U.C. and Cape Vincent (or Sacket's Harbour), N.Y. 5, Niagara (later Queenston), U.C. and Lewiston, N.Y.

Above left: A letter from Westchester, N.Y. to Queenston, via Lewiston, 1823. American postage was 18½ cents, prepaid. Canadian postage is two pence, the special border transfer fee between Lewiston and Queenston.

Below left: A letter from Quebec through Montreal to New York, 1829. Upper arrow shows the Canadian postage of one shilling, which covered internal postage plus the one-penny border transfer fee. U.S. postage from the lines to New York was 18¾ cents. All postage was prepaid.

Above right: Trafalgar, Upper Canada to London, England via Niagara, U.C. and New York, 1829. Upper arrow shows nine pence Canadian postage and one shilling, three pence American, which had to be prepaid on letters passing through the U.S.A. for overseas. Vertical arrow shows the handstruck NIAGARA, PAID TO NEW YORK oval with 25 cents postage from Niagara to New York, equal to the one shilling, three pence Canadian currency.

Below right: Albany to Toronto via Sacket's Harbour and Kingston, 1836. Right arrow shows prepaid American postage of 12½ cents. Left arrow shows total collect Canadian postage of one shilling four pence: four pence for deficient U.S. postage, and one shilling Canadian postage, which included the fee for ferriage and for the distance from Kingston to Toronto.

Opposite page: London, England to Perth, U.C. via New York, Ogdensburg, and Prescott. Arrow on right shows 20¾ cents American postage to cover a special Port of New York fee on incoming mail plus the normal internal postage. Top horizontal arrow shows the conversion of 20¾ cents to one shilling, one-quarter pence Canadian. Lower horizontal arrow shows internal Canadian rate of four-and-a-half pence and the total collect postage of one shilling, five pence.

border only, and additional postage was assessed from the border to its destination according to the internal postage rates of that country. Thus, cross-border mailings with the postage of the country of origin prepaid were said to have been *paid to the lines*.

Adhesive postage stamps were not used in the United States until 1845, and in Canada until 1851. Further, the prepayment of postage and the compulsory use of postage stamps were not obligatory for almost twenty-five years after that. Thus a person would send his letter with postage either prepaid or collect in cash, with the necessary amount usually indicated on the mailing in pen and ink. However, the agreement of 1792 demanded that letters from Canada through the United States to an overseas destination have the total postage of both countries prepaid at the post office of origin. Letters from Canada to the United States required prepayment of Canadian postage only and American postage could be either prepaid or collect. Mail in the opposite direction could be sent with the postage of either country prepaid or collect. Canadian postmasters, under this arrangement, collected U.S. postage and retained a twenty per cent commission on the amount collected.

Until 1829 the accounting for these funds was left up to postmasters in only three pairs of border transfer offices, the only points through which mail passed from one country to another. These were at Montreal, Lower Canada, with Burlington (often Highgate), Vermont; Kingston, Upper Canada, with Cape Vincent, New York; and Queenston (sometimes Niagara), Upper Canada, with Lewiston, New York.

This effectively took care of the postage problem of each country, although that special border transfer fee, for which there seemed to be no official justification, persisted. For instance, a letter from Montreal "to the lines", until 1819 was

assessed nine pence postage (six pence thereafter until 1837) although normal postage for the same distance in Canada was four and a half pence. Letters through Kingston, U.C., often showed an extra three-penny charge. Letters across the Niagara River between Queenston and Lewiston showed an additional two pennies.

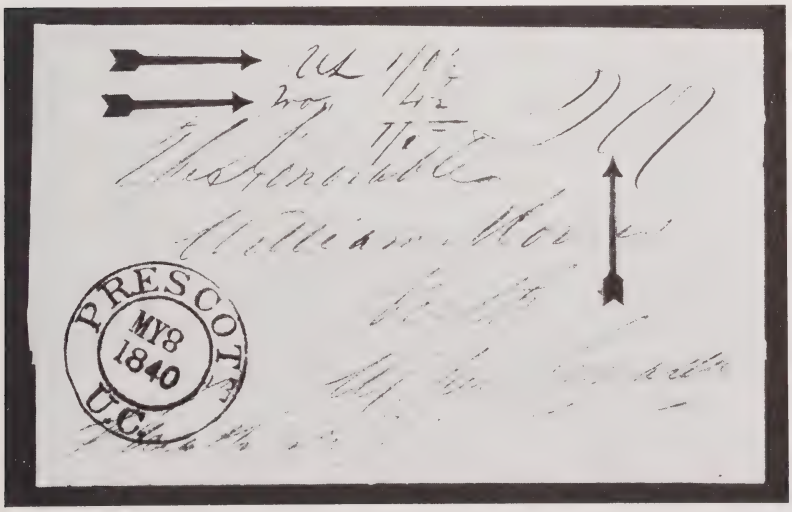
In 1829 much of the confusion concerning the handling of cross-border mail ended with a new agreement between the two countries. Actually, this agreement for the most part solidified and expanded existing practices. Two new pairs of border transfer offices were recognized — Prescott, U.C., with Ogdensburg, N.Y., and Stanstead, L.C., with Derby Line, Vermont. Niagara, U.C., replaced Queenston as the Canadian office with Lewiston, though a year later, Queenston again became the office of choice. The postal collection procedures remained unchanged. The three border exchange offices in Upper Canada were separated from their U.S. counterparts by water, and so the border transfer fee became known as "ferriage". The special six pence fee from the lines to Montreal remained, as well as the additional one penny to points beyond.

In 1837 the extra fee between border transfer offices came to an end. The extra one-penny fee for letters going through Montreal disappeared, and all ferriage charges were dropped. From this point on, letters between the United States and Canada required only the normal postage of each country. There was, however, one exception. Cross-border mailings originating in, or terminating at a border exchange office (Montreal excepted) required Canadian postage equal to the previous ferriage fee.

As the population expanded westward, new transfer offices were opened between Windsor, U.C., and Detroit, Michigan. Exchange offices were established between Brockville, U.C., and Morristown, New York, to help handle the increasing amount of mail from this area. The internal postal rates of each country changed, but cross-border procedures remained relatively unaltered. It was not until April 6, 1851 that both countries agreed to deliver each other's mail at no extra charge, provided the proper postage of the place of origin was accounted for. This, of course, effectively ended the "paid to the lines" era.

Photos: Philatelic Photographic Service, Toronto

Dr. Fred Stulberg was born in Toronto and graduated from the Faculty of Dentistry, University of Toronto. He is now engaged in private general practice in Toronto. A chance remark by a patient kindled an interest in philately which grew into a passion for postal history. Many of his articles, on both subjects, have been published in philatelic journals both here and abroad. Dr. Stulberg is a past president of the Toronto Stamp Collectors' Club and of the Philatelic Specialists Society of Canada. He is a director of the Royal Philatelic Society of Canada and of the Vincent G. Greene Philatelic Research Foundation, and was recently elected vice-president of the British North America Philatelic Society. He is honorary curator of the ROM's Philatelic Department.



Rembrandt or Maes?

A Drawing of Uncertain Authorship

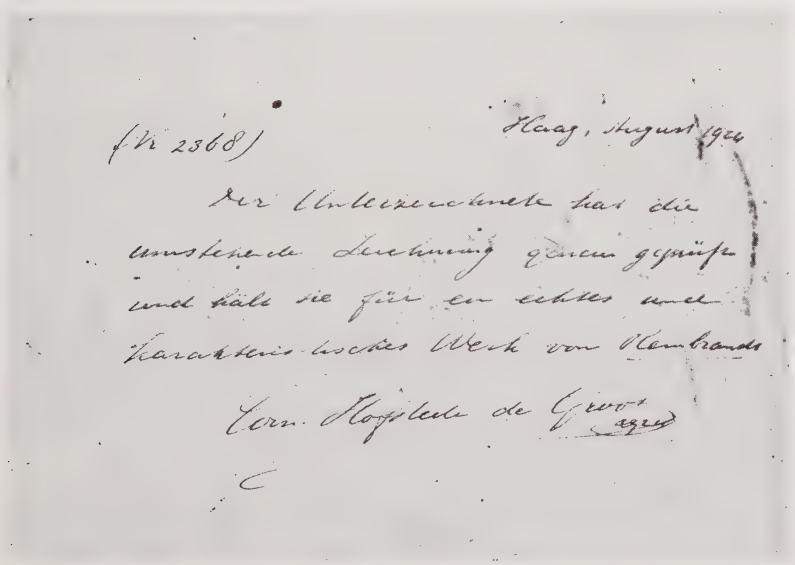
L. Cselenyi

In the autumn of 1974 the Royal Ontario Museum acquired a remarkable contribution to its European collection of graphics, a drawing described as "Joseph kneeling before Pharaoh" by Rembrandt. The drawing was donated by one of the most active sponsors of the European Department, Mr. John Schorscher, president of Tip Top Remaco Ltd. It shows the figure of a ruler in a high plumed and crown-topped turban seated on a throne, his vestment of some heavy material. In his right hand, which rests on the side of the throne, he extends a sceptre towards the second figure, and with his left hand he clutches his beard. The expression of concentration on his face suggests that this is an important confrontation. The kneeling figure, shown with arms outstretched, is drawn to express the importance of the message he brings to the ruler.

The collector's mark is that of the Earl of Dalhousie collection, clearly stamped in the lower left corner. The drawing is done with pen and brush in dark brown ink. Some parts of the outline reveal the remainders of charcoal strokes. The size of the paper is 129 mm x 137 mm, cut close along the pen frame lines. The paper has a small fragment of a watermark above the head of the kneeling figure and is of 17th-century origin.

On the verso side of the drawing is a handwritten statement by Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, a noted Rembrandt scholar, signed and dated The Hague, August 1924. It reads: "Der Unterzeichnete hat die umstehende Zeichnung genau geprüft und hält sie für ein echtes und karakteristisches Werk von Rembrandt" (The undersigned had this drawing precisely examined and considers it a genuine and characteristic work by Rembrandt). This statement, however, surprised rather than convinced many people, if only because the drawing does not appear in any catalogue of works of Rembrandt or his circle. Was the artist indeed Rembrandt, and is this a previously unkown drawing by the master himself?

To answer this question, it is useful to know whether the theme of the drawing appears in other, known Rembrandt drawings. It is readily apparent that the composition has its iconographic type in works of Rembrandt and his school, as well as in his followers' work. It can be compared with some of their biblical themes, particularly those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Haag, August 1924

Der Unterzeichnete hat die umstehende Zeichnung genau geprüft und hält sie für ein echtes und karakteristisches Werk von Rembrandt

Corn. Hofstede de Groot

Opposite page: "Joseph kneeling before Pharaoh", the ROM drawing by Nicolaes Maes, formerly attributed to Rembrandt.

Left: The verso side of the drawing shows Cornelius Hofstede de Groot's handwritten attribution to Rembrandt.

from Genesis depicting Joseph before Pharaoh. It has also been proposed that this drawing shows a scene from the Book of Esther, Haman before Ahasuerus. But Rembrandt's known works include no such scenes from the Book of Esther, and so it is more likely that the ROM drawing does indeed depict Joseph kneeling before Pharaoh.

In the most comprehensive catalogue of Rembrandt drawings, Otto Behesch's 1973 edition, this subject is introduced in only two drawings. The first, done in pen and bistre, now in the Städelisches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt on Main, is attributed to Rembrandt and probably belongs to his group of works of 1633. The second, done in reed pen and bistre, wash, with white body colour, is now in the Kupferstichkabinet, Berlin. These two compositional sketches might be the inspiration if not the model for the ROM drawing, particularly a mirror view of the 1633 drawing.

The ROM drawing undoubtedly shows iconographical, structural, and some stylistic similarity to the two mentioned above. Yet a more critical look reveals its comparative lack of immediacy, suggesting that the work may not be entirely a product of the artist's imagination, but that it is instead a compilation of other, already existing scenes. The texture of the pen-lines is similar to that of Rembrandt's pen drawings from the early thirties to the early fifties. However, here there is a peculiar mixture of the curvilinear and angular forms, particularly in the figure of Pharaoh, some of them having no structural function. The effect is one of disintegration, rather than the intended integration of the whole figure.

Another important clue lies in the faces. The facial expression in Rembrandt's oeuvre is like a hallmark, even in his sketches and preparatory drawings. Often, a few strokes were sufficient to fix the essence of a face, which was always made to harmonize with the physical and spiritual context of the theme. There is nothing of this exalted aspect in the ROM drawing to reveal the master's manner and hand.

The stylistically more coherent figure of the kneeling Joseph is a stronger argument for Rembrandt's influence. The drawing is more spontaneously done and more unified. The angularity of the figure seems to be intentional, and can also be observed in Rembrandt's geometrical articulation of his figures. In spite of such affinities, however, the pen style of the ROM drawing suggests some other hand, one that used less energetic strokes to produce these bold lines and forms. This hand shows a slow movement: the lines resemble entangled stalks, with separate strokes for the straight and simple contours of the vestment. The broad, brushed lines of the kneeling figure's right side emphasize the sharp contrast of light and shadow. The manner of hatching also demonstrates that not Rembrandt, but one of his pupils was responsible for the ROM drawing.

The characteristics of the drawing suggest that its author must have been among the last generation of Rembrandt's pupils, whose activity at the school concluded perhaps in the early fifties. The most suitable candidate is Nicolaes Maes (1632-1693). Born in Dordrecht, after a short training with a local artist this gifted youth of fourteen was sent to Rembrandt in Amsterdam in 1646. Several early copies that Maes made of Rembrandt drawings are known from his apprenticeship; the poses and gestures of his figures were without doubt shaped after the drawings typical of Rembrandt and his school. Maes also used the patterns found in works of earlier artists; the scene of Joseph before Pharaoh also appears in drawings attributed to Eeckhout and Flinck.

Rembrandt's teaching method created a close bond between master and pupils, if not an actual dependence, and their artistic activity was strongly marked by Rembrandt's style. But even when a pupil copies, he cannot entirely suppress the distinctive characteristics of his own manner and style. From the start of his career Maes' work shows a preference for calmness, tranquillity, and peaceful

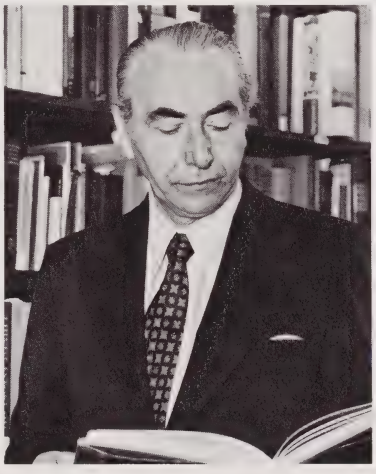
Right: The characteristic style of the young Maes is seen in his drawing of The Last Supper.

harmony, not only in the choice of subject, but also in the artistic expression. The same stylistic features are evident in other drawings by Maes, most of them formerly in the Earl of Dalhousie collection. A good example is his drawing of The Last Supper, which, though it is very close to Rembrandt's drawing style of the forties, betrays the young Maes in the short, squat figures, and the heavy quality of line. A Maes drawing of the Mother and Child shows features even more similar to those of the ROM drawing. The quick stroke of the mother's schematically drawn face is almost identical to the way in which Joseph's face is drawn, and the manner of the hatchings is characteristic only of Maes' pen style. The Mother and Child drawing, now in the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam, is perhaps more spontaneous than the ROM sketch, for in this case the artist's imagination was not hampered by working from other drawings of the subject, as he did with the ROM drawing.

These characteristics, which cannot be recognized in the work of other contemporaneous masters from Rembrandt's school, suggest that the ROM drawing can indeed be attributed to Maes. Besides a few remarkable prints of etchings by Rembrandt, this drawing forms the only immediate contact with Rembrandt and his school in the ROM collections.

Rembrandt's "Joseph kneeling before Pharaoh" (1633) was probably the direct inspiration for the Maes drawing.

The face of the mother in Maes' "Mother and Child" shows a striking similarity to the face of Joseph in the ROM drawing.



Ladislav Cselenyi, a former director of the Slovak National Museum, was born in Slovakia in 1920. He studied at the Teachers' College and at the University of J.A. Komensky in Bratislava, earning degrees in music pedagogy and art history. He has written five historical novels and has composed short forms of music. He came to Canada in 1966, and early in 1968 he joined the staff of the ROM, where he is Assistant Curator in the European Department.

The Growing Collections

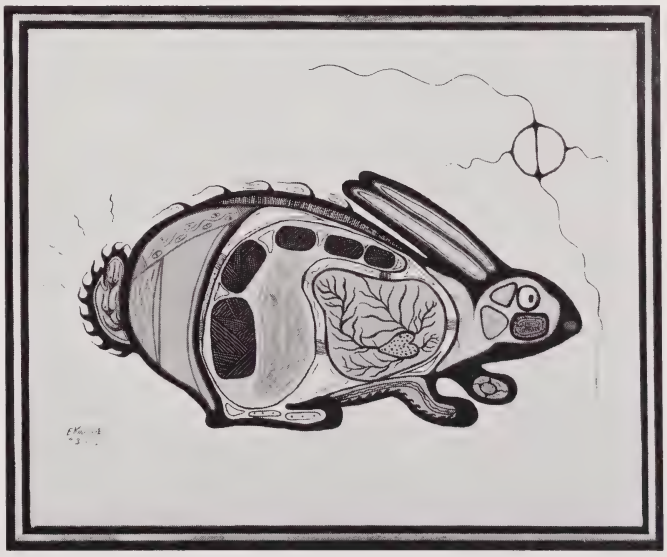
Porcelain figures in the white are generally more demanding of the sculptor's skill than those in which inferior modelling and minor imperfections can be disguised by the application of coloured enamels. Many deserve to be considered as small-scale sculptures. Adding important breadth to the collection of fine white Continental porcelain figures in the European Department is an exceptional group showing Apollo flaying Marsyas, a recent gift from Tip Top Remaco Ltd. It bears the impressed shield mark used at the Vienna factory between 1744-49, and is attributed to Johann Josef Niedermeyer, chief modeller there from 1747-84. A similar figure group is in the Vienna Museum für Angewandte Kunst.

During the early years of the Vienna factory (the Du Paquier period, 1719-44) figure sculpture was one of the least important productions, but when the factory was taken over by the state in 1744 special emphasis was henceforth paid to figures, many of them inspired by Meissen types. Niedermeyer's work was, however, especially distinctive since he was influenced by the Viennese Baroque sculptor Raphael Donner.

The background to this episode, whose macabre finale we are spared in this sculpture, was Apollo's revenge on Marsyas after the latter challenged the god to a musical contest. The victorious Apollo's lyre hangs high on the tree stump, while the unfortunate Marsyas' pipes lie ingloriously on the ground. The realistic modelling of powerful limbs and the spiral arrangement of Marsyas' body reveal the Baroque sensibility of this figure group. Marsyas' physique is very expressive; but Apollo's face is curiously dispassionate, displaying nothing more than a mild interest as he sharpens his knife before flaying Marsyas alive. His impassivity perhaps reflects an element of classicism which was to become more evident in Niedermeyer's later works. J.B.

The recent purchase of a fragment of 14th-century silk manufactured at the town of Lucca in northern Italy greatly expands the range of the woven silk collections of the Textile Department. Its lively pattern of lions and exotic birds amid palmettes worked in green and brocaded gold filé against a tan ground represents one of the important developments of Late Gothic style, which can be traced to Oriental influence.

The rise of Mongol power in Asia in the 12th century, which created an empire stretching from the Pacific to the frontiers of the Levant, revived East-West trade. Throughout the 13th and 14th centuries textiles of finer quality and richer colours than those of Europe began to appear in significant quantity. These exciting silks were emulated in Europe, particularly at Lucca, the leading silk weaving centre of its day. Here silk designers attempted to capture the spirit of Oriental tissues in fabrics produced for the European aristocracy. Animals and birds of Oriental derivation play amid a tangle of foliage, replacing the static arrangements of heraldic animals and noble heroes which had characterized Western textile design since Byzantine times. In time the dragons and phoenix were replaced by more familiar beasts and birds, but the sensuous energy of these flowing patterns surges through textile designs for the next 500 years. With this fragment the ROM is now able to demonstrate the link between mediaeval Chinese fragments and their 13th-century Persian imitations in the collections with the major Italian silk weaving achievements of the 15th century. J.V.



The collection of contemporary Native Woodland art in the Ethnology Department has recently been enhanced through the addition of four paintings by Eleanor Kanasawe, a young Ojibwa woman from Manitoulin Island. She is the first female painter to be represented in the collection. Her paintings depict wildlife and visions, portrayed in the "classic" Woodland style. The Ethnology Department is indebted to the women of the Members' Committee who generously donated these paintings. M.T.

A number of interesting minerals have been added to the collections in recent months. Those species new to the ROM collections are: vlasovite from Quebec (presented by Dr. J. Gittins of the University of Toronto) and armacolite from Montana (presented by Messrs. W. Pinch and J. Cilen).

Type material of the following minerals has been deposited in our collections: agrellite, Quebec (presented by Dr. J. Gittins); zektzerite, Washington State, and uvite, Sri Lanka were received as an exchange from the USNM (Smithsonian Institution). Exchanges were also arranged with the National Museum of Natural Science for fine examples of eudialyte and agrellite from the Kipawa Complex in Quebec and bright green, clear, transparent apatite from Monmouth Tp., Ontario.

Mackenzie Resources Limited have donated some more minerals from the Yukon phosphate occurrence in the Big Fish River–Blow River area, including two species new to the ROM collections: kryzhanovskite and metavivianite. Some of these were exhibited in February at the Tucson Gem & Mineral Show. Miss Ann Sabina of the Geological Survey of Canada presented the ROM with examples of mineral species not previously reported from Ontario. These are: stillwellite from Haliburton Co.; nordstrandite, dawsonite, warwickite and sinhalite from Hastings Co.; and fluoborite from Peterborough Co.

R.I.G.

Dr. Hsio-yen Shih worked long and hard for the Royal Ontario Museum before her departure at the end of January to become Director of the National Gallery of Canada. In recognition of her service and of her skilful and imaginative leadership of the Far Eastern Department, this handsome Thai jar has been donated to the department. The vessel was produced in a large kiln complex in northern Thailand near the ancient city of Sawankhalok in the territory of the first independent Thai kingdom, Sukhothai. These kilns produced a great variety of glazed stonewares for architectural, religious, and domestic use over a period extending from the 13th to the 16th century. The wares must have been much admired at the time of their production, for while other ceramic centres existed in the region, none appear to have enjoyed the currency of the Sawankhalok products. A great part of the output was obviously destined for export, as large numbers of Sawankhalok pieces have been discovered throughout Southeast Asia, particularly in burials in Indonesia and the Philippines.

About four inches high and five inches in diameter, this jar is a celadon, the most outstanding variety of Sawankhalok ware both in quantity and in quality. It has a lovely pale green glaze which appears deeper in tone where it has gathered in glassy pools in the recesses of the incised and carved decoration and at the margins of the glazed area. It is displayed in the Far Eastern Galleries where it serves to enhance a small but growing collection of Southeast Asian ceramics.

P.P.

Portable objects viewed in a museum setting lose a great deal of their original meaning. Ideally, they should be seen against a backdrop of the architecture characteristic of their time and place of origin. This is rarely possible, but fragments of architectural decoration can help to recreate a setting. The West Asian Department has acquired one almost complete panel of glazed tiles and fragments of several other panels which were salvaged from the ruins of a Persian palace pavilion. Purchased from the Kevorkian Collection, they represent scenes of court life — picnic and hunt — or stories from popular Persian epics and romances. Stylistically they resemble 17th-century paintings, but may in fact be copies made a century later. L.G.

While it was admittedly the intention of the European Department to limit the growing collection of miniatures to the portrait type (to all intents and purposes the forerunners of portrait photographs) of the 17th to 19th centuries, it is convenient to add peripheral material, especially when it is of as fine quality as the objects described below.

The first might be called a presentation sketch, often intended to let the sponsor or sitter see at an early stage what he might expect in the finished miniature. It also served as a memory aid for the artist if more than one portrait was ordered, or if the sitter proved to be a restless person. This example surfaced in Toronto some months ago in a small group of sketches. A photograph of it was sent to Daphne Foskett in England, who identified it as a work of John Smart. A small label on the back gives the sitter as the wife of General Marriot in the year 1775; she and her husband are known to have sat for this artist. This is the fourth example by this great artist in our collection, but the first sketch, a mode of expression so much more spontaneous than an enamel or an oil painting. Its quality does great honour to the artist, who was then thirty-five years old, and evidently coming into the best years of his artistic career.

The second example is a table top of black slate, circular and 50.5 cm in diameter. An area 46 cm in diameter is framed by a 1 cm wide band of malachite, within which eight pictures in mosaic encircle a central picture 15 cm in diameter surrounded by a lapis lazuli band. The nine pictures are views of Rome. While the topic suggests a workshop which produced souvenirs for the *jeunesse doré* on the grand tour, usually to be found in Rome or Naples, the use of malachite as well as the character of the object suggest a source of more distinction, possibly a workshop under the sponsorship of Czar Nicholas I in 1846 in Rome. This workshop, intended for the teaching of Russian craftsmen, was moved to St. Petersburg in 1850, where it became famous under the supervision of the Academy of Fine Arts. This table came to the Museum some twenty years ago, but because of space limitations it has never been exhibited. In connection with the collection of miniatures it will serve to show a technique originally used for the decoration of the walls of Byzantine churches, but later adapted to more flexible purposes.

H.H.-S.

Inspired by the preparations for the forthcoming exhibition "A Gather of Glass", the European Department recently acquired two objects of a type hitherto not to be found in our glass collections. One is a standing horse, the other a recumbent lion. The material is clear glass of a fine aquamarine hue, which in artificial light turns slightly grey. Both objects are worked "off hand"—that is, sculpted in hot glass using only tools; both were designed by an outstanding craftsman and fully hand-finished; both are dated, the horse 1974, the lion 1975; both are signed Klinger.

Miloslav Klinger of Czechoslovakia, now fifty-five, was trained at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague. He has won medals in various competitions (e.g., Brussels, 1958) and a state prize in 1961. Some of his work is on exhibition at "First Canadian Place" and the Shaw-Rimmington Gallery in Toronto. In acquiring these two objects the Museum has been greatly assisted by Joseph Markovic, the president of Quality Crystals Company Limited, a commercial import firm which, as a sideline, promotes Central European craftsmen and artists in a very discriminating way.

H.H.-S.

Recent Publications

Communicating with the Museum Visitor: Guidelines for Planning, *Communications Design Team of the Royal Ontario Museum*, ROM, pp. xx + 498, ill. b. & w., $50.00 paper
Commissioned by the ROM to assist in the development of a comprehensive exhibit programme, this study is the synthesis of intensive research carried out at other museums, and of the findings of experts in a variety of fields. It will be a valuable tool for all those institutions and individuals involved in the conceptualization, design, preparation and operation of museum exhibits.

The Earthworms (Lumbricidae and Sparganophilidae) of Ontario, ROM Life Sciences Miscellaneous Publication, *John W. Reynolds*, pp. x+ 141, illustrated, $8.00 hardcover
In this book are assembled for the first time all pertinent data, both systematic and biological, on the Canadian earthworm fauna, with fine illustrations of each of Ontario's species. A key and illustrated glossary enable the non-specialist to identify any species. The book is useful for farmers, fishermen, and naturalists as well as for students, teachers, and zoologists.

From Loom to Tomb, *Janet Lautenschlager*, ROM, pp. 8, ill. b. & w., $.50
A catalogue to accompany the ROM's temporary exhibition of pre-Columbian textiles.

Gold for the Gods audio-visual kit, *Education Services*, ROM, two filmstrips, cassette tapes, teacher's guide, $30.00
Education Services' kit *Gold for the Gods* marks a new direction in ROM publications. The first filmstrip describes natural forms of gold, using examples of Museum gallery specimens, and outlines goldsmiths' techniques, as illustrated by the Museum's Ancient History and European collections. The other deals with Peru: crops, animals, contrasting climates; and what we have learned, from their paintings and grave objects, of Peru's pre-Columbian peoples, the Nazca, Mochica, Chimu, and Inca. The kit is designed to be useful independently of the "Gold for the Gods" special exhibition.

The World of Dinosaurs audio-visual kit, *Education Services*, ROM, three filmstrips, three cassette tapes, teacher's resource book (two copies), dinosaur wall chart, two ROM pamphlets, five ROM postcards, $60.00
This filmstrip kit outlines the formation, discovery, excavation, and exhibition of dinosaur fossils; with details of the ROM's dinosaurs of the Jurassic and Cretaceous periods and descriptions of climate and vegetation. The teacher's resource book includes scripts, explanatory notes, vocabulary, classroom activities, and bibliography. Intended for grades 5 to 8, the kit can be used for pre-visit introduction, post-visit review, or even as a possible alternative to a museum visit.

In the Presence of the Dragon Throne, *John E. Vollmer*, ROM, pp. 88, ill. b. & w. and colour, $3.50 paper
Manchu court costume played a central political role during the nearly three centuries of Manchu rule in China. These sumptuous garments also embodied ancient Chinese ideas of cosmology, as symbolized in their elaborate dragon ornament. In addition, they represent a fascinating study in textile history, for they reflect elements of both nomadic skin traditions and native Chinese cloth traditions.

L'Or des Dieux, *edited by R.D. Tushingham*, ROM, pp. 146, ill. b & w. and colour
The French edition of the catalogue *Gold for the Gods*.

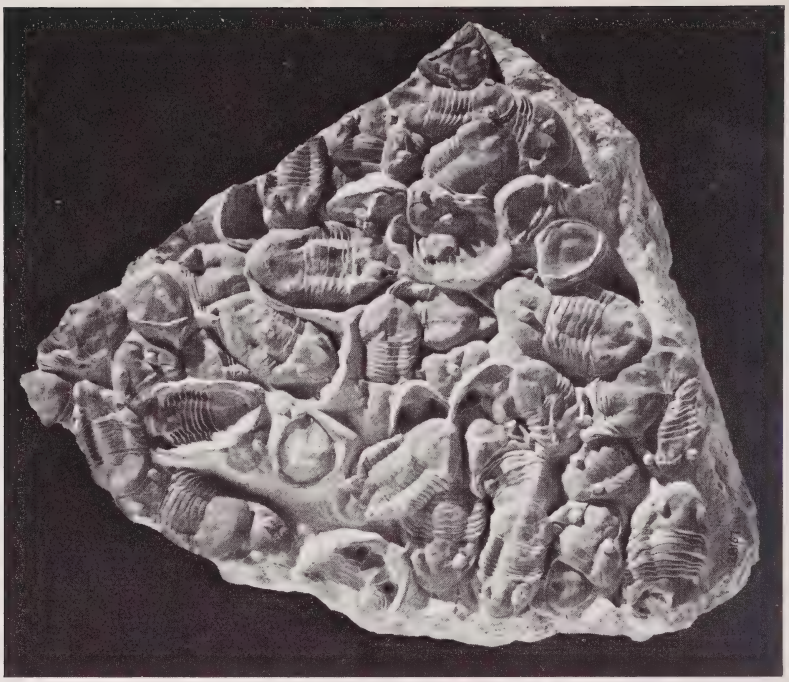
The Menzies Collection of Shang Dynasty Oracle Bones, Volume II, The Text, ROM Art & Archaeology Miscellaneous Publication, *C.-H. Hsü*, pp. xxxvi + 258, 5 plates, $20.00 hardcover
The second volume of this projected three-volume series is a scholarly analysis of the meaning of the inscriptions catalogued in Volume I, with renditions into modern Chinese.

The Pottery of Ancient Egypt, ROM Art & Archaeology Miscellaneous Publication, *Allyn Kelley*, pp. iv + 56 (paper) with pp. 780 (unbound), ill. b. & w., $16.00 boxed
The systematic study of Egyptian pottery has long been one of the most neglected areas in Near Eastern archaeology. This corpus is designed to fill temporarily the gap in our knowledge of Egyptian ceramics. Arranged chronologically and subdivided by site, it is a working tool to be supplemented or rearranged as the student of Egyptian ceramics sees fit.

Lower–Middle Devonian Conodont Biostratigraphy and Palaeoecology, Niagara Peninsula, Ontario, ROM Life Sciences Occasional Paper 30, *P.G. Telford, P.H. von Bitter and G.A. Tarrant*, pp. 16, illustrated, $1.00 paper

Neogondolelliform Conodonts of Early and Middle Pennsylvanian Age, ROM Life Sciences Occasional Paper 29, *Peter H. von Bitter and Glen K. Merrill*, pp. 12, illustrated, $.75 paper

Systematics of the Genus *Eumops* **(Chiroptera: Molossidae)**, ROM Life Sciences Contribution 110, *Judith L. Eger*, pp. 76, illustrated, $3.50 paper



Impressions of Ancient Life

Some Common and Uncommon Fossil Types

Madeleine A. Fritz

It is well known that the farther we go back in history, the more difficult it is to secure records of past events. The ancient civilizations of mankind have left many fragments of their stories for us to decipher — strange characters impressed on tablets of clay, or inscriptions on great monuments. Yet older than all the works of man are races that left no written language, no inscribed tablets or sculptured stones to tell their simple story or relate the tale of battles lost or won. These are the creatures whose histories have been, nevertheless, indelibly printed as fossils on the shifting sands of time.

Fossils are to the palaeontologist what prehistoric implements are to the archaeologist or ancient documents to the historian. The original meaning of a fossil was "something dug up" from the earth, but in actual use the word has a more restricted meaning, and is defined as the remains or even as the trace of an animal or plant that lived at some time in the geological past, and has been buried by natural processes in rocks of the earth's crust.

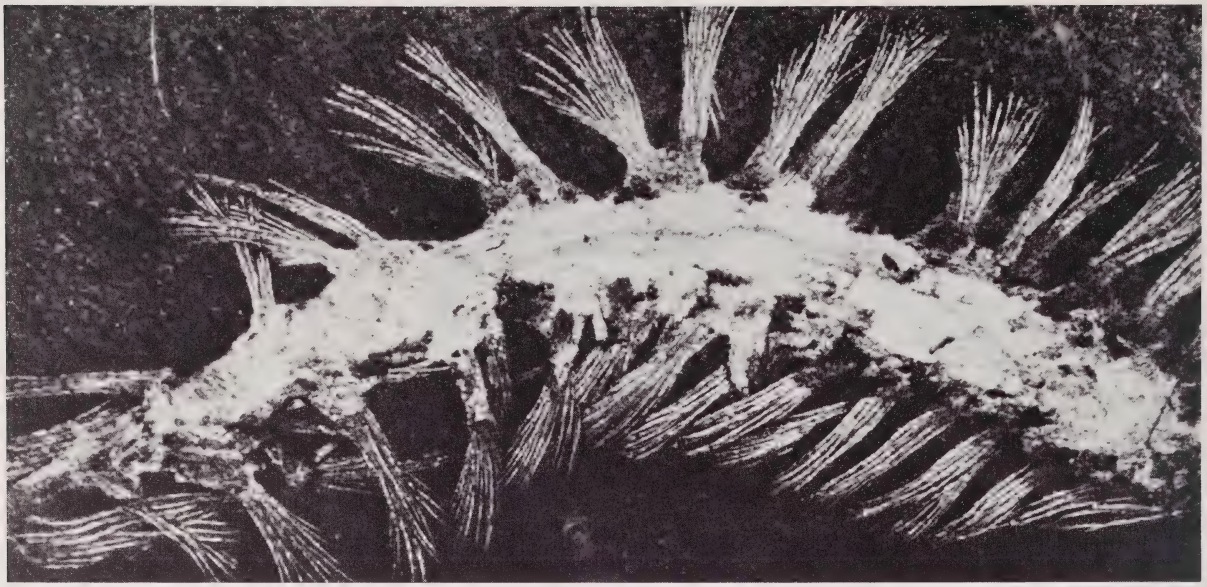
If asked to name a fossil some people would probably think of a trilobite, commonly found in the rocks around Toronto and elsewhere. Others would think of a dinosaur from the Badlands of Alberta, while others might recall the imprint of a fernlike plant from the coal fields of Nova Scotia. These three types originally lived in quite diverse surroundings. The trilobite inhabited the sea, the fern a dismal swamp, and the dinosaur the shore of an inland sea. But the shell fish, the fern, and the dinosaur all once lived and died, and were buried in the sands, clays, or limy oozes with which they were surrounded, sediments now compacted into the rocks where we find them today.

Anyone who has walked along a seashore has seen fossils in the making. Remember how the coast-

Opposite page: A rock rich with trilobites, among the most common fossil remains.

Left: A mould and a cast of a Silurian snail.

Below: A fly preserved in amber for thirty million years.



A sea worm with preserved soft parts from the Burgess Shale, B.C.

line is being constantly torn down and built up by the waves of the relentless sea; how myriads of sea creatures cling to the rocks, crawl about among the seaweeds, or burrow in the sands and muds; how the empty shells of many others, swept in by the tide, become half-buried in the shifting sediments. Intermingled with the commoner forms of life are odd forms that lived in somewhat deeper waters: corals, sponges, or bones of fish and sharks' teeth. There might even be bits of wood or fragments of animals that came from neighbouring lands. By degrees these ill-sorted remains which represent the more resistant parts of organisms become buried in the nearby sands and muds. Precisely the same thing happened along the shores and in the coastal waters of prehistoric seas that from time to time in the past covered portions of the present continents. As these seas retreated they left behind sediments (now rocks) in which are buried the remains of organisms that lived in the former seas.

Actually, only an infinitely small fraction of past life has been preserved as fossils. Soft parts have rarely survived. The most common fossils are those of creatures with hard parts that became quickly buried: shell fish such as clams, snails, and crustaceans, for instance, that lived in the sea. When they died they dropped to the sea floor. Their soft parts were probably devoured by scavengers, but their shells became buried in the muds, sands, and limy oozes. Seldom are shells preserved in their original state. More often they were dissolved by percolating waters, but in that case a space was left which served as a "mould" of the shell. When the space formerly occupied by the soft parts became filled with some mineral substance, a "cast" of the interior was formed.

Though organisms composed of soft parts only are seldom fossilized, nature has in rare instances provided conditions favourable to their preservation. Such was the case in Cambrian times, some half-billion years ago, when a sea covered the area that is now British Columbia. This sea deposited muddy sediments in which were buried the remains of extinct invertebrates such as marine worms, crustaceans, arthropods, and many other sea creatures. These sediments now constitute the famous Burgess Shale, a black, slaty shale exposed high up on the slopes of Mt. Wapta, near Field. A seven-foot section within this shale contains some of the most remarkable fossils that have ever been found. These

particular slaty beds may have formed in a depression in the ocean bed. Into this depression drifted soft-bodied creatures which, when they died, fell to the bottom and were buried in the muds. The environment eventually became so polluted from the decay of dead bodies that no animal life could survive, and a mass extinction took place. Now many of the entrapped creatures are preserved as carbon residues imprinted on the bedding planes of the shales. These impressions show the most fragile skeletal structures and in some instances even the viscera.

The Burgess Shale was discovered in 1910 by Dr. Charles D. Walcott, a distinguished American geologist. In actual fact the discovery should be attributed to a pack horse from higher up on the mountain that turned up a slab on which a strange-looking object attracted attention. When it was shown to Dr. Walcott, who was working in the area, he recognized it as the fossilized remains of a sea worm with the delicate anatomical detail clearly visible. Aroused by this fantastic find, Walcott set about to locate the rock layers from which the slab had come. From that time on, the fossils of the Burgess Shale became his consuming interest for many years. In the end he described 70 genera and 130 species of soft-bodied invertebrates, one of the most amazing fossil assemblages known to palaeontologists.

In the summer of 1975, Dr. Desmond Collins, Curator of Fossil Invertebrates at the Royal Ontario Museum, visited the area along with a Museum party. They brought back many beautiful specimens to augment the growing collections, some of which will be exhibited in the new gallery of fossil invertebrates.

Although soft-bodied creatures are seldom preserved, casts and moulds are very common among invertebrate fossils. Perhaps the most unusual of these are the moulds of insects encased in amber. To understand how such fossils are created, it must be remembered that the area now covered by the North Sea was, some 30 million or more years ago, a region of dense coniferous forests. Insects and other tree-abiding creatures became entangled and engulfed in the sticky resin of the trees. As the resin

Above: This section of petrified tree shows the preserved cellular structures.

Left: Dinosaur tracks.

Right: The first fossil bird ever discovered, Archaeopteryx lithographica.

Below: This feather, discovered in 1860, was the first proof of the existence of fossil birds.

hardened into amber, many became permanently trapped. Most of the soft tissues disappeared, but the stark, dark moulds remained as fossils. Now that the sea covers the ancient forests, the amber lies deep within the sands of the present ocean. Since prehistoric times, quantities of amber have been washed up on the shores of the Baltic. Baltic amber was fashioned into amber jewellery and "objects of art" by the Greeks and Romans, and the Phoenicians introduced an amber trade to the Orient.

One might expect the actual trees of the "amber forest" to have been preserved as well, but such does not seem to be the case. However, under quite different circumstances huge logs of trees are found in the Petrified Forest of Arizona. Here mineral matter, mostly silica, replaced the woody tissue of the trees molecule for molecule, and withstood the destructive forces of the elements. Silica in the form of chalcedony and agate is responsible for the brilliant variegated colours of red, yellow, and purple of these specimens. They are often polished and used as decorative stones, and are widely sought as collectors' items.

Even the leaves of trees are sometimes preserved as black carbon residues after the volatile constituents of the tissues are distilled off. They represent what might be called "carbon copies" of the original. The beautifully preserved fronds of fern-like plants of the Coal Measures in the Maritime provinces were preserved in this way.

The definition of a fossil provides not only for the actual remains of an organism, but also for some trace of its former existence such as tracks and trails. Take, for instance, the tracks left behind by a dinosaur over fifty million years ago as it wandered along the sun-baked beach of some prehistoric sea. In the absence of a skeleton, these tracks can tell us much about the creature that made them. Was it bipedal or quadrupedal? Did it run, leap, or lumber about in a ponderous fashion? Claw-like toes indicate an agile, carnivorous animal, while blunter toes are evidence of a slower-moving herbivore.

In rare instances nature has preserved entire animals, bones and flesh alike. Oil seeps have trapped unwary animals over a period of 10,000 years. A Polish palaeontologist writes that when he examined a deposit of mineral wax in Galicia he found the mummified remains of two woolly rhinoceros calves and one woolly mammoth calf completely soaked with mineral paraffin. The frozen soil of the Siberian tundra has provided refrigeration for many woolly mammoths that inadvertently fell into crevasses in the ice. Carcasses of these extinct animals have been recovered whose hair, skin, flesh, and stomach contents have been frozen for thousands of years when the great ice cap covered northern Europe.

On occasion, the merest shred of evidence may help to reveal entire chapters of the past. The scene shifts to a lazy lagoon 150 million years ago in the vicinity of Solenhofen in Bavaria. A bird flies over, shedding a feather which drifts around for awhile in the water, then sinks to the bottom. Buried in the fine, limy oozes, the fragile feather remains undisturbed by currents that might have destroyed it. With the passage of time the waters of the lagoon recede, exposing thick sediments that are later converted into lithographic limestone.

In 1860 a teacher, wandering with his class through a quarry in this limestone, spied the impression of a feather on the flat surface of a loose slab. Since no fossil birds were yet known, the specimen caused a sensation among scientists and laymen alike. Hermann von Meyer, who came into possession of the fossil feather, named it *Archaeopteryx lithographica*, meaning the ancient lithographic feather. In 1861 a headless specimen turned up, showing impressions of body feathers, and sixteen years later another example showing the head was found. In the jaws were pointed teeth. But the single feather had been the first clue in this discovery of an entire class of animal life. It demonstrates that even though the record of the past may be scant, if only we can learn to read that record we may come to understand the amazing richness and diversity of past life on earth.

Professor Madeleine A. Fritz was one of the first Canadian women to pursue the study of geology and to become an academic in the earth sciences. Her special interest is the study of Palaeozoic Bryozoa. Dr. Fritz is Research Associate in the ROM's Department of Invertebrate Palaeontology and Professor Emeritus in the University of Toronto's Department of Geology, and has been associated with these departments for over four decades.

Clothing and the Politics of Conquest

Manchu Court Costume in China

John E. Vollmer

Above: Civil official in formal court attire. This Ming Dynasty coat restricted movement but was a dramatic display of wealth. Late 16th century.

Right: Manchu nobleman in formal court attire, the most conservative of the Manchu garments introduced after the conquest of 1644. About 1700.

East Asian civilization developed along the Yellow River, at the point where it cuts through the southern edge of the Eurasian steppe and flows eastward across the plains to the North China Sea. Here the distinct geographic and climatic zones which created the rolling grassland prairie and the fertile plains of wind-deposited and alluvial soils brought two life styles into contact. On the plains, agriculture made possible a rich urban civilization; while to the north and west breeders of horses, sheep, and cattle were obliged to live as nomads following their herds in search of forage. Much of the history of China can be explained by the continuing struggle for power between the sedentary peoples of the plains and the nomadic, horse-riding warriors. The interests of these two groups were naturally at odds. Farming tied up free range land, while herding destroyed fields, crops, and irrigation systems — the very life support of Chinese culture.

In times of strong native dynasties, China extended the limits of its empire onto the southern reaches of the steppe. From the 5th to the 3rd centuries B.C. the Great Wall, one of the world's monumental feats of engineering, was constructed in an attempt to keep the barbarians at bay. Coupled with this defence system, designed to hinder the raids of mounted cavalry, was a style of diplomacy whose aim was to keep nomadic power diffuse by playing the nomadic factions off against one another and by appeasing them with some of the wealth of the empire. Among the most prized diplomatic gifts to nomad chieftains, who dressed in skins and felt, was Chinese silk from imperial workshops to the south.

But the Great Wall often proved to be a mere symbol of power, not an effective deterrent to invasion. When central control weakened,

A Manchu warrior, one of fifty commemorative portraits honouring meritorious officers who pacified Tibet by imperial command. He wears clothing evolved from horseriding herdsmen. 1760.

the nomadic groups were repeatedly able to consolidate their power, and, with the help of their devastating mounted cavalry, to seize control of the Dragon Throne. For more than 2,000 years the nomadic, horseriding warriors of eastern Asia swept across the plains to conquer, and re-conquer, the vast and fertile lands of China. Yet time and time again the nomadic invaders, unable to maintain control over the empire, were toppled from power.

A Chinese statesman is reputed to have counselled Genghis Khan, the 13th-century Mongol conqueror of China, with the advice: "Though the empire can be conquered on horseback, it cannot be ruled from horseback." This old saying suggests the cultural dilemma of all nomadic rulers on the throne. Although they were effective warriors, they brought with them none of the skills to administer a vast empire. If they were to maintain control, they had to adopt Chinese-style methods of administration and the Chinese bureaucratic structure. Inevitably, they adopted Chinese culture and philosophy as well, gradually losing their ethnic identities, their independence, and their martial traditions. Eventually the rulers, always a small minority, were assimilated by their subjects, who in turn reacted by throwing off the yoke of foreign domination.

The Manchu were the last of the nomadic invaders to establish their own dynasty on the Dragon Throne, the Ch'ing, when they overthrew the native Ming Dynasty in 1644. Like their predecessors, they began their conquest on horseback along the margins of the Chinese world, first gaining control of a rich agricultural area just outside the Great Wall, so that they would have the resources to attempt conquest of the plains. But in consolidating their gains, they confronted the dilemma that had, in time, defeated all those who had gone before them. Taking heed of the lessons of the past, they determined to resist assimilation by maintaining their martial traditions, and they rigorously enforced policies carefully designed to dif-

ferentiate conqueror from conquered. Their success is demonstrated by the fact that they ruled China for nearly three centuries.

Among the most powerful ways of maintaining a group identity is the wearing of distinctive costume; and in China, the political and symbolic significance of clothing had been recognized for many centuries. The Manchu made the regulation of official costume a central aspect of their political programme, using the queue and Manchu dress as symbols of authority and rule. By imposing their national costume on all in service of their government, the Manchu acknowledged their steppe origins and also legitimized their claims to rule by symbolically linking their dynasty, the Ch'ing, with the nomadic dynasties of the past. In 1759, after nearly a century of increasing Chinese influence and pressure, the policies affecting costume were further strengthened by imperial edicts governing court attire. Many of these policies continued in force until the final collapse of traditional China in 1911.

Chinese costume can be traced through two interlocked but very different clothing traditions: the cloth tradition of the plains, and the skin tradition of the nomadic herder societies. The weaving technology of the Chinese plains can be traced back to the second millennium B.C. Here, the traditional backstrap loom produced narrow widths of cloth that were sewn together with straight seams, resulting in geometric shapes. Upper body garments were formed of two lengths of cloth joined together with a centre back seam and brought over the shoulder to leave the front open — the familiar kimono construction. From earliest times, this fundamental construction was used for ceremonial and practical purposes alike. As a full-length coat it enhanced the court ritual of an autocratic state. Reduced to its simplest form, it was the working clothing of farm labourers. The form of the very wide-sleeved coat used for formal wear was codified by the Han Dynasty during the second century B.C., and each succeeding native dynasty attempted to restore the classical form, in order to stress the continuity of their reigns and evoke the grandeur of the past. When the native Ming overthrew the Mongol

Left: This painted pottery tomb figurine depicts a foreign entertainer in 7th-century China. His costume, with leggings tied to a belt and a short-sleeved surcoat over another garment with tight sleeves pushed up the arm, is based on nomadic costume which developed on the steppe.

Opposite page: This grey pottery tomb figurine shows the layers of the simple, full-sleeved kimono-like coats worn by Han Dynasty aristocratic women during the 2nd century A.D. Such coats became codified as court coats for subsequent native dynasties.

Manchu nobleman in court attire. The surcoat bearing imperial five-clawed dragons (lung) *was worn over formal coat garments. About 1700.*

Yuan Dynasty in 1368, they again restored this full-cut coat, rejecting the close-fitting coats of the horse-riding Mongols.

The life of the horseriding herdsman required clothing very different from that of the court functionary or the farmer: clothing that would serve as protection from the weather and that would allow freedom of movement. The garments which the Manchu brought with them to the Imperial City had evolved to meet the requirements of their vigorous life. Their long-sleeved, closely fitting coats, securely belted at the waist, helped conserve body heat while allowing free arm movement for fighting on horseback. Leggings, and later trousers, protected a horseman's legs from the elements and from rubbing against the horse's flanks. When dismounted, the horseman would add a pair of aprons to conceal the trousers and boots. These would add formality to his costume without hindering his movements, should the need arise to make a hasty getaway on horseback. On formal occasions a short-sleeved surcoat would be worn over the riding coat, altering the appearance without encumbering the arms.

These various garments evolved into the composite costume which was the basis for formal Manchu male court garments. These were worn at the most important functions, such as the principal annual sacrifices conducted by the emperor himself on behalf of the well-being of the empire. The honour of wearing this garment is often celebrated in the posthumous and commemorative portraits of Ch'ing Dynasty officials. The typical decoration of dragon patterns, however, is based on native Chinese garment tradition. As vassals of the Ming Chinese court, the leaders of the Manchu tribes had received dragon-patterned silk as diplomatic gifts in return for paying tribute to the Son of Heaven. These bolts of presentation silk were in turn made up in local Manchu style. This is the reason why the typical decoration of the formal dragon-patterned court coat — a large, four-lobed

Manchu noblewoman in formal court attire, a sleeveless coat decorated with dragons worn over a similarly decorated sleeved coat. A fur-trimmed hat and a flaring collar complete the costume. Late 19th century.

yoke with an ornamental band at the hips and another band across the skirts of the aprons — does not really fit the garment's shape. It is the result of adapting woven cloth, designed for the fully cut Ming court coat, to the more restricted forms of functional nomadic gear. By the time of the Manchu conquest, however, the tradition of silk Manchu court coats was so firmly established that its cut and decoration were considered inviolable. Being made of fine silk, the Manchu court coat was suitable only for ceremonial wear. Yet in construction it still symbolized the function for which it was designed; and so it became a symbolic recognition of Manchu political might.

Female Manchu court attire differed significantly from the male garment, reflecting the division of labour by sex in nomadic societies. Women did not wage war or engage in raids, but tended the herds on foot. Because they did not ride, they did not wear trousers or require aprons. Their basic costume consisted of a sleeveless coat worn over a long-sleeved garment, and was typical of nomadic women's clothing worn throughout China's northern frontier. The shape of the sleeveless coat strongly suggests the survival of an archaic skin garment, linking Manchu clothing traditions to the skin traditions developed among the hunting and fishing nomads living in the forested regions of eastern Siberia north of the steppe. The original skin shape naturally created a sloping shoulder line and deeply curved armhole when it was sewn into a garment. Probably by the time of conquest these two garments, the sleeved and the sleeve-

Above: Although made of blue silk velvet, the prototype of this short, sleeveless coat is a nomadic two-skin garment. 1875-1900.

Right: Emperor's semi-formal court coat of yellow tapestry-woven silk. Metallic gold was used for the dragons to enhance the dramatic quality of the garment, which was intended to be viewed by artificial light in the early hours before dawn. Chia-ching period (1786-1821).

The full sleeves of this woman's embroidered grey silk gauze coat place it emphatically within native Chinese cloth traditions, which used conspicuous displays of woven cloth to reflect wealth and status. 1850-1875.

less coat, had merged into a single coat. Although the coat was now made of silk and worn ceremonially, the applied bindings and the flaring shoulder projections preserved the outline of the earlier, sleeveless coat, whose function had ceased to have meaning.

Both male and female court coats were worn with a separate triangular cape-like collar, which flared over the shoulders at the back. This collar resembles a hood, which when opened along the top of the crown would lie flat across the shoulders. Hoods are part of the nomadic heritage and probably derived from close-fitting head coverings fashioned from the skins of actual animal heads.

Not only did the Manchu bring their own national costume to China, they also developed new costume types to reinforce their political ambitions. The semi-formal court coat, often called a dragon robe, after its principal ornament, is perhaps the best known Manchu garment in the West. Its construction is based on the nomadic riding coat with its long tight sleeves, its front flap which closed over the right with toggle buttons and loops, and its vented skirts, which were extended full-length for ceremonial display. But like the formal court coat, its dragon decoration has its source in ancient Chinese tradition. The basic decorative schema includes the elements of Chinese cosmology which were transmitted through Ming

Dynasty ornament. At first, as vassals of the Ming court, the Manchu had borrowed the outward forms of these symbols for their own garments; later, as rulers of the Central Kingdom, they embraced the spirit and substance of the Chinese idea of universal order.

The decoration of the semi-formal court coat is a schematic diagram of the universe. The lower border of diagonal bands and rounded billows represents water; at the four axes of the coat, which symbolize the cardinal points of the compass, rise prism-shaped rocks symbolizing the earth mountain. Above is the cloud-filled heaven against which dragons, emblems of imperial authority, coil and twist. The symbolism is complete only when the coat is worn. The human body becomes the world axis; the neck opening, the gate of heaven, separates the material world of the coat from the realm of the spiritual, represented by the wearer's head. Implicit in the design is the notion of harmony and universal order upon which the principles of Chinese imperial statecraft rested. Each courtier was constantly reminded by the garments he wore of his duty and subservience to the Dragon Throne and his relationship to the emperor. The emperor himself, through his imperial mandate to rule, secured the cosmic harmony which was translated into political reality by the Ch'ing government.

Much of the success of the Manchu conquest rested upon the internal organization which permitted them to effect the transition from nomadic conquerors to civil administrators. The Manchu, aware of the lessons of history, adapted the Chinese bureaucracy to their own needs while at the same time protecting their ethnic identity. All Manchu were organized into military units which provided effective discipline and a comprehensive register of civilians. At the same time, the Manchu government relied on the efficiency of a bureaucracy which organized thousands of individuals into an elaborately graded hierarchy that related in all of its functions to the emperor. Distinctions of title, rank, and status in the imperial court, in the metropolitan and provincial administrations, as well as in the military organizations, were maintained by the prescribed costume and paraphernalia worn by each courtier, official, and officer in the service of the Dragon Throne.

By the mid-18th century the Manchu regime had brought peace to the empire, but for a people who prided themselves on military prowess, the Manchu found it increasingly difficult to maintain the vigour and determination of their ancestors. Once dismounted, they found the luxuries and comforts of Chinese life far more appealing than spartan military discipline. Despite this internal decline and the increased pressures from Western powers, the Manchu dynasty continued for another 150 years.

Neither traditional Chinese culture nor the nomadic influence survived the coming of the 20th century, and in the revolutionary struggles that engulfed China the Manchu symbols of authority, such as the queue, became hated emblems of oppression. Yet modern China has not ceased to use the regulation of clothing as a political tool. Though hierarchy and rank have given way to notions of the equality of all, the prescribed dress of its people is, just as it has been for thousands of years, a conscious reflection of political and cultural principles.

John Vollmer, Assistant Curator in Charge of the Textile Department, joined the Museum staff in 1968 as a secretary to the Far Eastern Department, where he worked with the Japanese collections. Seven years ago he transferred to the Textile Department to work with Chinese costumes and fabrics, which comprise one of the world's major public holdings. His researches in Oriental textiles range from the study of ancient Chinese weaving technology as preserved on the patinas of bronze objects to East–West trade relations during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. He has organized the first major showing of the ROM's Chinese costume collection since 1946 in an exhibition entitled "In the Presence of the Dragon Throne", on display in Exhibition Hall from April 19.

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